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Library Trends

Library Programs and Services to the Disadvantaged

HELEN HUGUENOR LYMAN
Issue Editor

October, 1971

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Introduction

HELEN HUGUENOR LYMAN

THE DISADVANTAGED person is an important part of the population. Librarians are more and more aware of the opportunities to serve him and the need to extend their professional understanding of the more deprived groups in society. New concepts and practices in this area are evident in the field of librarianship, as they are in the fields of sociology, anthropology, reading, and education. Trends are indentifiable which indicate new directions, guides for decision-making, and the potential for innovative policies and practices.

What is meant by disadvantaged? Disadvantaged in what way? Economic, social, cultural, and educational disadvantaged present problems of definition and lead to controversy. Disadvantaged has several meanings even within the dictionary definitions. Significantly, *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*, second edition (1935), does not include the word. The third edition (1961) defines disadvantaged as "lacking in the basic resource or conditions (as standard housing, medical and educational facilities, civil rights) believed to be necessary for an equal position in society." Disadvantaged also means the absence or deprivation of an advantage, an unfavorable, inferior, or prejudiced condition. Compare the meanings of disadvantaged with the terms underprivileged and deprived. Underprivileged is defined as "deprived through social or economic oppression of some of the fundamental rights theoretically belonging to all members of civilized society." Deprivation means "the act of depriving or the state of being deprived." Deprived "implies a taking away of what one has, owns, or has a right to." Deprived also is "marked by deprivations especially of the necessities of life or of healthful environmental influences." Underprivileged and deprived are in certain respects more accurate terms than disadvantaged. These terms give a different emphasis and a broader dimension to the concept of what it

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means to be disadvantaged because they encompass the concept of individual rights.

Being disadvantaged implies a comparison with a standard of being advantaged. It can mean economically impoverished, culturally deprived, or culturally different. It can include an unfavorable environment, physical handicaps, language obstacles, and expectations and values different from the norm. Who is to judge? What is the measure? Standards frequently used are amount and type of education, amount of income, status of the individual or the group to which he belongs, housing conditions, and value of possessions.

Actually the terms "disadvantaged," "underprivileged," and "deprived" themselves often raise doubts and hostilities. Their use seems to be patronizing and presumptuous. The user often fails completely to recognize assets of the so-called disadvantaged person or group. Authors in this issue present various definitions which add depth and insights to the subject while recognizing the problems inherent in definitions and warning against them.

Among the country's various deprived groups, usually minority groups, are the American Indians, Appalachians, Spanish-speaking (primarily Mexican Americans or Chicanos), and the blacks. Others include the white urban poor, the rural disadvantaged, and the ghetto populations, all of whom have deprivations and needs for services yet to be explored. The numbers of persons involved and the many differences among the deprived groups present complexities and opportunities which are discussed throughout this issue.

Nearly 10 million persons of Spanish origin are identified in a 1969 Bureau of the Census survey. They include five major groups, of which 55 percent are of Mexican origin, 16 percent of Puerto Rican origin, 6 percent of Cuban origin, 6 percent of Central or South American origin, and the remaining 17 percent of other Spanish origins. According to the 1970 census, blacks comprise 11 percent of the total population of the United States. In 1970, about 50 percent of the blacks lived in the South, 40 percent in the North, and 10 percent in the West. Three of every five black persons in the population lived in the center of a major metropolitan area. In his article in this issue, Jordan points out that there are five types of American citizens among the disadvantaged population: the young, particularly the school dropouts under twenty-one years of age; the old persons over sixty-five; those who are functionally illiterate and who may be of any age; the new immigrants from rural and small towns; and the blacks, who make up the majority

in each of the other four groups. Half of the black population is in desperate, deteriorating circumstances.

The literature about the disadvantaged population and about poverty problems of minority groups in today's society is voluminous. Sociologists, anthropologists, economists, psychologists, and ethnic group representatives have focused on the subject. An almost obsessive preoccupation with the subject in the last two decades has created various interpretations and many attempts at solutions. Relevant research literature expands, and rapid change in this field brings new ideas.

The many groups represented in the disadvantaged population, the complexity of the social and cultural aspects, and the institutional responses in library programs have all determined the range and scope of the topics and contributors to this issue. The authors of this issue bring valuable professional knowledge and experience while presenting significant information and critical interpretations which identify and propose unique solutions and directions.

In this issue a sociologist, an action anthropologist, reading specialists, library consultants, library science educators, and leaders in the public and private sector of library administration review and identify significant research and bibliography in their areas of concern. They interpret findings and developments from various and, frequently, contradictory points of view. They examine various responses to the interests and needs of the disadvantaged user by the agency and staff who serve him at academic, public, school, state, and institutional libraries and at library schools in the light of past, present, and future patterns and trends.

This issue's authors synthesize relevant research in areas related to library programs and service to the disadvantaged population; report research findings and trends in communication media; identify necessary institutional changes in the library field; identify new concepts and directions in programs and service to various groups within the pattern of American society, including the traditional age ranges of children, young people, and adults; and review and evaluate research and trends in education and training for this special area in librarianship.

This issue on library service to the disadvantaged contains twenty-one articles which are grouped in seven major areas: Background (Lyman and Ennis); Minorities and the Library (Borman, Smith, Coskey, Haro, and Jordan); Multi-media Approaches (Rogovin and Roberts); Research in Reading (Robinson, Korn, Winters, and Lyman);

Changing Environments and Agencies' Responses (Casey, Frantz, Cunningham, and Davis); The Library's Responsibility to the Young and Students (Tate, Frary, Manthorne, and Josey); and Education and Training for Service (Monroe and Vale).

New concepts and trends in library services to the disadvantaged reflect change and development. Ennis analyzes dimensions of social change with warnings against uninformed and hasty judgments that mislead. He discusses and illustrates with examples the cases of market mechanisms and marginal institutional exhaustion which are most relevant to librarianship in that they open new lines of thought.

Minorities and the library are the focus of the five articles by Borman, Smith, Coskey, Haro, and Jordan. In this section many of the myths and misconceptions surrounding minorities and national immigrant groups are dispelled. Borman looks at misconceptions, social issues, and action in the light of research knowledge and presents a philosophy of action. He suggests that the major issue before the profession may be whether action librarianship is to be achieved. He asks if the roles of learning and helping can be merged with those of scientist and citizen and whether the goals of administration can be turned to aid human welfare.

The wrongs and injuries to Indians, Appalachians, Spanish-speaking groups, and blacks arouse fierce protest. Several authors analyze this situation and review trends to demonstrate how librarians are or could take active responsibilities in library service to promote human welfare, not only to help the groups directly concerned, but also to refute and help dispel misconceptions about them. The need for understanding and the achievement of greater understanding of these minority groups are documented by Smith, Coskey, Jordan, Haro, Josey, and Cunningham.

Coskey's account of progress made against almost insurmountable obstacles in the southern Appalachian region creates a rich background for greater understanding of these admirable people. Her factual report about one of the least understood areas of the country is as valuable to librarians in urban centers where Appalachians have moved as it is to those in Appalachia.

Although Haro focuses on Mexican Americans in his discussion, the same ideas he expresses are applicable to other Spanish-speaking groups. He points out that indiscriminate generalizations about Mexican Americans prevent recognition of important differences among them. Library programs must reflect bicultural and bilingual aims both in collections and services.

Jordan, in his review of library services to black Americans, stresses that the most relevant role librarians can play is that of helping blacks help themselves, and, above all, of accepting them and gaining acceptance for them.

Two authors discuss and demonstrate multi-media approaches. The photographic essay on Appalachia makes a unique contribution to the topic. These beautiful and poignant photographs taken in the West Virginia hollows, where the poor and forgotten people live, reveal a strong and sturdy people. Rogovin's deep involvement and artistry add a new dimension and bring an individual comment in an other-than-print medium.

"Tomorrow's illiterates"—Who will they be? Why will they be? Are librarians unseeing and tradition-bound in ways that lead only to failure? Roberts asks and comments on the above questions while challenging clichés, the status quo, and traditions. He feels strongly that libraries must integrate multi-media services and materials or the result will be disadvantaged service.

Three specialists in reading, Robinson, Korn, and Winters, review research findings and trends in reading. They envision broad potentialities which the library could have for the disadvantaged reader. Their suggestions for library service are both practical and inspiring. Lyman discusses literacy, literacy programs and studies, and reading materials for the adult who is developing his reading skills and habits.

Changing environments and agencies' responses are shown in the significant facts and concepts discussed by Casey, Frantz, Cunningham, and Davis. One segment of the public library's vast untapped clientele is composed of the aged, the institutionalized, and the shut-ins, all of them persons who cannot come to libraries because they literally are locked up in mental hospitals and prisons, or because they are locked into their own immediate environments by physical or mental disabilities. Casey explores what libraries are doing and might do for this silent minority. Frantz convincingly shows that today the changing environment requires a goal-oriented and performance-related approach to bring about the substantial changes which will enhance and extend the usefulness of libraries. Cunningham's and Davis's discussions present examples of urban and rural situations which provide practical examples of problems raised by Frantz. Cunningham discusses a regional library response to changes as shown in the Indian project of the Northeast Kansas Library System. Here in microcosm are seen the current national economic and social crises. He concludes that the choice is between a structure which is meaningless to the needs of

the users and a running confrontation with the local power structure.

Davis shows why libraries and librarians must find ways to reach out to the core of the cities and to the centers of deprivation. The public library is unique in its capabilities for nurturing the self-education process. Only total commitment and strong administrative direction in organization and planning, financing, interagency cooperation and community relations, and staffing can achieve success.

The library's responsibility to the young and students is the focus of the articles by Tate, Frary, Manthorne, and Josey. Tate points out how formerly accepted methods of library service to children are being questioned, and she describes the responses and changes taking place in libraries. The librarian's role may be foreseen as that of helping to open the book of life to children and young people while recognizing their different cultural advantages.

Frary analyzes a number of developments which converged to make it possible for the school library to play a major role in educational programs designed to fill the needs of the disadvantaged. She identifies five major areas where objectives must be reached to insure that not only students but all young people have quality library service.

Manthorne reports there has been little research in the area of service to young adults. She identifies models for a new breed of librarians prepared to cope with an old breed of libraries. A key to creative resourceful response is youth's involvement in decision-making regarding policies and the programs that have impact upon them.

Academic libraries, Josey feels, must above all become client centered and provide disadvantaged students with new kinds of learning experiences. Reading guidance, reference information, a wide range of multi-media materials, and encouragement of the love of reading (all combined with innovative practices) are the reforms needed.

Education and training may well be the way to successful and continuing service to the disadvantaged part of the population. Universities and colleges, as well as all types of libraries, are centers for the preparation of men and women who will be leaders, practitioners, and teachers in this area of service. Monroe sees the role of library education in serving the disadvantaged as evaluating and institutionalizing innovation through research and education of personnel. She documents library education's current response to this role. She finds that education for service to special publics and to the individual is the major objective of library schools; the methodology for preparing librarians varies, however, as do the patterns of activity. She concludes that curriculum derived from practice is the approach now evident.

Vale asks, and attempts to answer the question, Is the library profession capable of providing a meaningful response to the disadvantaged? The federal government's response to this dominant problem of meeting the library training needs of a mobile urban population requires national priorities. These are reflected in legislation, fellowship and institute programs, and program priorities for funding. The trends seem to be in the direction of a people-to-people and people-for-people orientation.

The single most significant factor in serving the disadvantaged person and groups may be the respect and understanding between the library user or potential user, the individual or community, and the library personnel. It is imperative to know and appreciate the life styles, cultural beliefs and values, motivations, desires, interests, and aspirations of various groups.

Social Change: Some Cautionary Notes

PHILIP H. ENNIS

RECENT AMERICAN THOUGHT has been obsessed with two themes: change and persistence. Whole new literatures have developed around the study of change. The social indicators movement seeks methods of identifying and measuring changes in the various aspects of the society as it inches or leaps forward. The futures movement, a loose international coagulation of writers, scholarly centers and research institutes in many disciplines, is dedicated to enterprises ranging from forecasting to the imaginative creation of possible future social worlds. The development or modernization literature is concerned with analyzing the opportunities and barriers to the transformations of undeveloped, non-developed, and developing states into modern, industrial, developed nations. The literature on post-industrial change, alternatives and counter cultures seeks to interpret the widely shared sense that the modern state—mainly the Western world but including parts of the Socialist world as well—has entered a new, uncharted, confusing and, above all, directionless period.

The prevalence, speed, and consequentiality of change is so widely accepted that writers calling attention to persistence and tradition seem to be either pedantic academics or musty reactionaries. Insofar as tradition and persistence are counterposed against change and the future, there is a tendency for these words to become reified, to become disembodied forces obscuring the dimensions of each. The specific, concrete social processes which underlie both change and persistence tend to become blurred in this kind of thinking, as do important distinctions about different types of change, types of stability and the relationships between them.

The first part of this article therefore is a brief review of some problems involved in analyzing social change. The second part discusses two cases that may be useful to library planning.

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Some Dimensions of Social Change

The first problem is to identify *what* is changing or, more accurately, since everything is in some kind of change process, what particular aspect of society should be paid attention to in *describing* a change. To take a familiar example, what does the "rapid and accelerating growth of science" mean? This phrase is ubiquitous, but does it refer to the growth of the number of practicing scientists, the number of scientific discoveries, the number of scientific books and articles published, or the number of dollars spent on science? Or more complexly, does the expression refer to the spread of scientific techniques and personnel into activities previously handled by traditional means, does it mean growth in the number of newspaper stories or movies about science and scientists, or does it mean that there is a change in the public awareness of science? Clearly there is some correlation between all these aspects, but they are different aspects of "the growth of science." It would be disastrous to the formulation of a specific public policy not to select the specific aspect that is appropriate to the purpose at hand.

It is particularly important to distinguish between changes in the public consciousness of a situation and the actual change itself. An example is the belief that mental illness in the United States has increased enormously in the past half century due to the increased strains and stresses in the culture. The proliferation of mental health programs and the extensive discussions of mental health in the mass and specialized media make it quite plausible for people to believe that the rate of mental disorders has accelerated as our society has become more complex. Yet the empirical evidence simply does not confirm this story. Goldhamer and Marshall's *Psychosis and Civilization* carefully sifts the available data and concludes that for about 100 years, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the 1950s, there is a remarkable stability in the rates of mental illness in the United States.[1] Changes in public awareness of problems appear to be much more volatile than the changes in the actual state of affairs in many areas.

The pollution of the nation's air, water and landscape, to take another case, has been occurring for a long time. While there has been some acceleration, to be sure, in the rate of destruction of these natural resources, there has been a faster shift in the nation's consciousness of the problem. The evidence for this assertion, though not quantitative, is the readily observable increase in the space devoted to the issue in the media of public discussion, in the organized activity of the citizenry and in the action of federal and state legislatures and agencies. It

must be added at once that changes in the consciousness of a problem can alter the rate and extent of the situation's "natural" growth and society's response to it.

These observations are applicable to the library field generally, but more dramatically in interpreting what is meant by the expressions "information explosion" or "knowledge explosion." These summarizing metaphors compress many different kinds of changes. If such metaphors are to do much more than merely scare or comfort people, they must be resolved into their proper units and dimensions.

A second problem related to analyzing change is setting meaningful temporal and spatial boundaries to change. This means paying attention to the question how fast is fast, and how much is much. Too often the words "rapid change" or "massive change" are simply subjective assertions based on privately felt dislocations of familiar coordinates. The clue to this kind of thinking is in the language. When we read, "the entire knowledge system in society is undergoing violent upheaval. The very concepts and codes in terms of which we think are turning over at a furious and accelerating pace. We are increasing the rate at which we must form and forget our images of reality,"[2] we are in the presence of a speed-infatuated mind innocent of the realities of concrete social process and individual psychology. There are simply too many stabilizing influences at work which prevent people from reeling off as dizzily as this writer supposes.

This same writer illustrates another kind of failure to place change in its concrete setting in his book on *The Culture Consumers* when he makes the following statement: "A survey of 21 museums alone showed an aggregate attendance of 19,370,000 in 1958. Within two years this had climbed to 21,360,000—a gain of more than ten percent. Across the country museums are making room for unaccustomed crowds."[3] The implication here, relentlessly pursued by Toffler, is that we are in the midst of a "culture explosion." The reader, however, is not told which twenty-one cities the survey covered, whether their population growth was more or less than 10 percent, whether the attendance figures represent people coming in by themselves or as part of organized groups, how many people—not visits—these figures represent, or whether they represent adults or children. This kind of error is a common one which can entrap the best intentioned analyst.

As another example, by referring to statistics from 1930 through 1965 for total expenditures for admission to legitimate theater, opera, and entertainments of nonprofit institutions (except athletics)[4] and adjust-

ing these to account for such things as inflation, population growth, and allocation of disposable income, the culture explosion supposedly beginning in the early 1940s simply vanishes. It is possible to assess the speed, scope and meaning of a change in a particular social process only in terms of a joint consideration of the process's own previous rate of change and the changes in related processes. Changes in the growth of national wealth, for example, are understandable only when placed in the relational context of changes in population growth rates, the growth of capital formation, changes in the distribution of income, and so on.

A third problem in assessing social change is the misapplication of categories in such a way as to obscure simultaneous but opposite changes. Misapplication may be due to partisan political persuasion or it may be an attempt at objective description. In any case, the culprit is most often language. Important words can blind an observer to what is in fact happening. Three examples of this misapplication arise in asking the following questions:

1. How are black Americans doing? Summary figures which report that black compared to white Americans are earning less or get less education or are improving faster or slower in this or that respect obliterate the fact that within the black community there is a simultaneous but opposite set of trends. For some blacks there has been an improvement in income, health and education, but for others there is an equally clear increase in the pathologies of poverty.
2. How are women doing? Summary figures which show the steady increase of women's participation in the work force, from 19.2 percent in 1910 to 32.1 percent in 1960 fail to see the simultaneous but opposite trend which reveals that the proportion of women in the professions fell from 42.9 percent in 1910 to 38.1 percent in 1960.[5]
3. How is the sale of paperback books doing? Summary figures which compare total sales figures of paperbacks to hard cover trade books show that from 1959 to 1967 hard cover trade book volume increased from 35 to 48 million units, an increase of 37 percent. During that same period all paperback sales increased from 296 million to 345 million units, a 17 percent rise. One might conclude that the paperback revolution had effectively ended, or at least slowed. Yet this would be erroneous and misleading because the category "paperback" conceals the distinction between the mass distributed "wholesale" and the "adult" paperbound book: the two labels point to quite different content, distribution channels, and audiences. Between 1959 and 1967 the wholesale paperback sales declined in volume from 286 million to 201 million copies, a 30 percent drop, while adult

paperbound books increased their sales over the same period from 10 million to 144 million, a 1,340 percent increase.[6]

These three simple examples illustrate how reliance on the unanalyzed categories of everyday language can disguise the fact that things can go in opposite directions at the same time.

A fourth problem in the analysis of change is more complicated. Thus far, the advice is that if the observer gets the unit of change right, locates the change in its proper temporal and spatial boundaries and the proper metrics, and has broken through the linguistic traps to reach the real categories, then the analysis of social change should proceed in a straightforward way. Sometimes this will work, but most likely it will not.

Social policies have their origins in unlikely places; they have outcomes surprisingly different than those envisaged, and consequences that turn up in places far removed from their origin. The following example taken from a statement by Daniel P. Moynihan begins with an important premise:

> In a system, everything relates to everything. If one part is changed, all other parts are affected. It thus becomes necessary to think of the total effect, not just the partial one.
>
> This fact has an important corollary. Given the interconnections of things, it follows that there is no significant aspect of national life about which there is not likely to be a rather significant national policy. It may be a *hidden* policy. No one may know about it; no one may have intended it. But it is a policy withal. (In the course of the 1960's, for example, the Selective Service System emerged as a national youth policy of pervasive, enormous, and, in almost every respect, calamitous consequence. In effect, the draft meant that youth of higher social status would in considerable measure be excused from fighting in a difficult and dangerous war. Almost certainly this contributed importantly to a sequence of events which led large numbers of this group into unprecedented opposition to society as a whole.) Yet Selective Service was never seen as a youth policy. From the first it has but one object, to maintain the Armed Forces at a lesser cost than would be required if the members thereof had to be induced to serve by the same kind of inducements that operate in the labor market generally. Not infrequently, the strongest proponents of the draft have been persons who wished to see the money "saved" by it used for important social services to help the less advantaged. They certainly never considered that in the process they might be sending just such persons to war, while exempting more privileged youth.[7]

Given this unfortunately pervasive entanglement of things, it takes concentration and a little luck to make sense of the full origins and consequences of social change.

Two Cases of Social Change

We now turn to two specific instances of social change. They both deal with the cultural scene, but not with the surface play of one event succeeding another. The analysis is directed instead to everyday institutional arrangements whose ordinary operations are not very visible to the public and not deliberately engaged in altering the content of our culture, but whose activities produce, often inadvertently, the puzzling contour of the present.

THE MARKET MECHANISM

The first case illustrates one of the most basic engines of change in our society—the market mechanism. The distribution of goods and services and the allocation of political power devolve in large measure on the legally protected rights of individual choice whose aggregate outcome operates as social choice based on some decision rule. In politics a majority, or 51 percent, is characteristically the rule. In the economy the rule is generally that any given percentage of the demand commands that percentage of the supply. If 80 percent of the market wants beer and 20 percent champagne, eight out of ten bottles produced will be filled with beer—if Adam Smith's invisible hand is pouring.

In the economy and to some extent in the polity, demands are both volatile and manipulatable. There is thus a relentless pressure to anticipate, to keep up with and to shape the ever-shifting pattern of the public's aggregate wants. The result is pervasive change. The most familiar kind is the endless and unpredictable parade of short-lived fashion changes. On a slightly larger scale there are changes which can rapidly alter the form of a whole market structure, in the way that the invention of the better mouse trap retires the old one to a museum. The author does not know why it is the case, but this kind of market situation tends to be all or nothing, feast or famine. The almost total demise of network radio as a major presentational form of mass popular entertainment with the emergence of television is another case of the same thing.

At a still greater level of complexity, the market produces, or rather is implicated in producing, major cultural changes which alter the life style of large sectors of the population. Rock music's appearance in the mid-1950s has created a new life style for many of the young. The story is not simply that Elvis Presley wandered into town and led the kids off on a mad dance like the Pied Piper. The story has its roots in the everyday workings of the advertising, radio broadcasting, music publishing,

phonograph recording and entertainment industries. From the 1920s forward these industries have been entwined in the creation and distribution of popular music. From folk sources and from the traditions of urban commercial entertainment, vaudeville and the musical theatre, these industries had gradually abstracted, rationalized and neatly packaged three main product lines and several subsidiary lines. By the end of the 1940s, the major ones were known as the popular, the country and western, and the rhythm and blues markets. The popular market was the dominant one, serving the nation's white mass market audience. The country and western market was a commercial amalgam of rural white Southern (hill billy) music and western, cowboy music serving mainly the white Southern and Southwestern populations. The rhythm and blues market was the commercialized form of black blues and dance music. Each had its own separate audience, its own performers, its own distribution system, its own distinct musical content.

Music in all three of the markets began to be phonographically recorded and distributed in the early 1920s. Indeed it was the commercial success of the recording industry that helped shape the music into the three distinct forms. Slowly over those years white popular music and country and western music, both live and recorded, were increasingly exposed to the public via the radio. Yet paradoxically the major commodity of the music business was sheet music. It was only after the Second World War, with the decline of the big bands, the drop in sales for home pianos and other musical instruments, and the growth in the number of independent radio stations throughout the nation that a peculiar and almost unrelated set of events took place which decisively changed the way popular music reached the public.

The new independent radio stations required inexpensive programming material, advertising revenue and a broadcasting format that could attract a large and diverse audience. The answer to all these needs was found in the disk jockey, a new occupation that gradually took shape during the late 1930s and early 1940s. The disk jockey played popular records (each about three minutes long) interspersed by "spot" commercial announcements. He held the program together by his "personality." The needs of the broadcasting, advertising and the music industries met and were satisfied in a new way by the disk jockey. He created local audiences and markets for local stations including a local market for popular music. The appearance of disk jockeys in cities all over the nation thus inadvertently broke the control of the New York-centered distribution system of popular music. At the same time, the

disk jockey strengthened the record companies relative power as compared to music publishers by exposing and selling the single record as opposed to the sheet music version of the tune. Disk jockeys shaped local listeners into devoted, responsive and enthusiastic record-buying audiences.

Insofar as some disk jockeys concentrated on predicting and making hits they sought out that segment of the audience most interested in popular music. These were, of course, young people, teen-agers mainly. The disk jockeys went to where the kids were, invented record hops, brought them into the radio stations, championed and celebrated the youngsters. They told the disk jockey which of the new records they liked and in return the disk jockeys played back those records on the programs in massive doses until they (or some of them) did in fact become hits. This system of rapid feedback and force-feed worked well and efficiently for the music industry. What the teen-agers first signalled they liked, the rest of the audience subsequently liked and bought. It worked as long as the tastes of the teen-agers were the same tastes as those of the much larger number of older kids and adults. However, by the early 1950s those tastes began to diverge. The reasons are complex but, in brief, the rhythm and blues and the country and western markets each in different ways burst their boundaries.

Large numbers of American blacks during and after the Second World War had moved into Northern cities. Because the war had improved their economic position, the market mechanism, always responsive to such situations of opportunity, had responded with a great expansion in the production of rhythm and blues records. The major record companies were slower to act than a whole new group of small and energetic record labels. They flooded the ordinary distribution channels for black music—the juke box, the small record shop, the drug store with a record department (and loudspeaker blaring into the street). About this time, the late 1940s, the radio broadcasting industry realized the market potential of black audiences and responded as did the white stations, with popular music (black) and disk jockies. The number of stations programming black music increased rapidly. The irony was that some white teen-agers began to listen. There was no segragation for the radio audience even though many white stations had firm if sotto voce policies to "keep that nigger music off the air." Country and western music was also expanding out of its regional base and saturating much radio programming in the West and Middle West. At first records that became big hits in rhythm and blues and country and western were

copied by white popular singers. The music industry's response was not organized conspiracy, but was simply the result of individual attempts to get the next big hit. White singers, vocal groups and bands were recorded doing music that at first copied the black material, cleaning up the earthy lyrics and smoothing out the roughness of the music.

In the early days of rock and roll, 1953-56, it was smaller record companies and marginal talent that exploited the emerging taste changes. The days of the Brill Building (the locale of the traditional New York music publishers) and big record companies' A & R men (artists and repertoire—the resident producers of pop records) were numbered. After they had mass produced several years worth of teen-aged performers singing teen-aged lyrics, the structure of the music industry and its audiences began to change.

Within the industry rock and roll music became a focus of the conflict between the old establishment and spokesmen for an increasingly self-conscious young audience who responded enthusiastically but selectively to music directed towards their own still inchoate life style. It was in the air generally, but the Beatles made the most decisive break in commercial terms. Young performers could be their own composers and lyricists, speaking more deeply and more variously about the experience of the young in musical terms that were by now (1963) in a familiar idiom—that of black rhythm and blues and that of white country and western. Soon older kids, perhaps the very same college kids who had earlier rejected Patti Page and Perry Como for the Drifters, Chuck Berry, or Buddy Holly, gave enough support to the contemporary folk strain of singers like Bob Dylan (mediated by the Byrds), to allow enough commercial support to that vitalizing moment, the San Francisco Sound of 1965. The Jefferson Airplane, the Grateful Dead, all their progenitors, peers and successors in the United States and in England were the symbols of a widening age-graded social cleavage giving language, dance, community, and ultimately, a political consciousness to what was once merely a commercial audience. The institutional situation that gave skeleton and muscle to these culture changes was the gradual shift in power away from the distribution side (the record companies) to the performer-composer. The live concert, dances, the festival gave the performers both the economic strength and the audience support to tip the power away from the established sections of the music industry. This is not to say that the adult stream of the music industry is dead. It existed and flourished throughout this entire period. The industry moreover has recaptured to a considerable extent the reins

of the rock world. The story is clear nevertheless. When a new audience with its own needs and interests is discovered by a cultural system driven by the market mechanism, that mechanism will respond even though the managers of the system may hate and fear what they are offering. Both the music industry and the adults condemned rock and roll. The immediate consequence was to further widen the gulf between kids and parents, to give greater consciousness to the youth, and to create social structures which defended and advanced their sundry causes.

In newspaper and book publishing this kind of thing is also happening. Underground newspapers evaded the established structure of the news industry but the book industry, in a much more competitive situation, opened its flanks to assault. The public library has apparently stood apart from all these changes. Have the youth and the blacks, and the other new and old minorities simply walked around the library as they have walked around the vestiges of other structures which have suffered marginal institutional exhaustion, or is there new life yet to be seen in the public library?

AMERICAN SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

The second case of social change is even a more classic case of marginal institutional exhaustion. It is well understood that social movements have a limited life cycle. They are born in a situation of strain, grow in crisis, and die of defeat or of success. Their organizational forms often litter the social landscape long after their inner life has ended. It is not well understood that the established institutions of modern life may also have an analogous life cycle. The case to be discussed here is the American system of free public education. The charge that the schools are dying or dead vies for public attention with the insistence that the public schools can and should offer to all children a high quality education irrespective of their race and economic condition.

It would be a mistake to diagnose these emotion-laden assertions as evidence of the total failure of institutional arrangements to meet social purpose. By many criteria the schools are unquestionably successful. A recent report shows that over 99 percent of children six to twelve years of age are enrolled in school.[8] This is babysitting at an unprecedented level of efficiency. The fact that the college population has grown at a rate far faster than the population as a whole attests to the success of the public schools in providing higher education. There are undoubtedly other such "successes," but the failure bias in our culture directs

our attention to the points where the schools are under attack.

It is at socially critical points, at the margin of change in other words, that we find two kinds of institutional exhaustion. On the one hand a basic American value is achievement—people are to be judged and rewarded on the basis of their performance. Formal education is the main road to achievement. Therefore, the ideology says, education must attempt to provide the tools of achievement, especially to those children who lack parentally inherited resources. Another American value sanctions the right of families and larger social groupings to maintain their own customs, life styles, and social identities. Insofar as school is an extension and continuation of family socialization, families of a similar background try to keep their schools restricted to their own children. Thus these two equally legitimate values clash in the schools. Which is the higher priority, who you are or what you can become? This struggle of ascription versus achievement, as the sociologists say, strains the meaning and uses of the public schools. The sudden growth of free schools and alternative schools in the cities of the North and East and the implacable resistance to school desegregation in the nation epitomize the exhaustion of the present school arrangements.

In recent years a crucial symptom of the schools' failure has become more visible; this is the basic question of literacy. Next to venereal disease, illiteracy is the social disease least tolerable to our society. Reading is regarded as the skill most essential to educational achievement. The extent of illiteracy is widely thought to be the measure of a society's educational health. Only recently has critical attention been turned to those measures. The traditional measure of literacy in this country has been based on the yes-or-no census question referring to the language spoken in the home, "Can you read and write that language?"

In 1900 the illiteracy rate was 10.7 percent, by 1940 it had declined to 4.3 percent, and the most recent accounting by the census reports that in 1969 the illiteracy rate for the population over fourteen years of age has dropped to 1.0 percent.[9] At first glance these statistics are another accolade to American education. Yet evidence is accumulating that illiteracy is far more prevalent than indicated. A recent report of two nationwide studies indicates that about 13 percent of Americans over sixteen years "cannot read well enough to fill out application forms for Government Medicard or public assistance, a bank loan or even a Social Security number."[10]

These revisions in the estimates of illiteracy raise several important

questions. The first has to do with the identifiability of social change. Instead of a slow, steady elimination of an undesirable social trait through the ordinary application of education, the more accurate perception now seems to be one of an inadvertently and invisibly produced *increase* in this social trait through the ordinary application of the very institution designed to remove it. How accurate are these new estimates?

Many technical problems require solution before the extent and distribution of illiteracy can be fully assessed, but certainly the *definition* of illiteracy is critical. If the census use of the simple question "Can you read and write?" is too crude in one direction, then the measures used in the recent surveys reported above are too crude in the other; that is, if "18½ million people cannot read well enough to get along in daily life,"[10] this definition of illiteracy is too demanding, since those millions are surely getting along somehow. The notion of illiteracy obviously requires reconceptualization. Given the disparity between the census and the recent reports of illiteracy, the first requirement is a base line study that can set a minimum standard of literacy analogous to minimum standards of health and safety. Beyond this minimum, the situation is much more complex. It is not likely that either one test or a series of measuring instruments can evaluate the levels of reading competence that an individual needs to carry out the diverse social role he is called upon to enact in everyday life.

The average adult in his role as breadwinner, father, homeowner, consumer, voter, automobile driver, bowler, patient, and so on, has a variety of contacts with print. Some are fleeting, almost unrecognizable as reading, but others require more sustained work. The mix of reading skills that a person needs varies, of course, with the particular set of social roles he occupies. Since these are so varied it is difficult, if not impossible, for the schools to offer training in all the different kinds of reading requirements used in adult life. Given the continual press of technological change, the schools are not very likely to keep up with the changing content required nor are they going to be able to keep up with the different types of print skills that will be needed. The creators and users of technology do not wait for the schools to catch up. They must cope with the literacy needs of the day.

To do so we find a peculiar double dynamism operating in the society which constantly, but relatively unobtrusively, re-equilibrates the match of literacy *needs* in any social role with the literacy *skills* available to the population who enacts that role. On the one hand, there has

been considerable change in the mix of literacy skills available in the population at any given moment. Thus, for example, there is some evidence that a great reservoir of literacy skills is being rapidly created as a result of the dramatic increase in the number of very young children who have had the opportunity of attending nursery school in recent years. A recent census study reports that "compared with October 1964 . . . nursery school enrollment has increased by 73 percent."[11] The same study also reports that college enrollment over the same time period has increased by 46 percent. These figures clearly indicate that the population as a whole has a much higher literacy potential than five years ago, even if that potential will show up in the adult world at two quite different times. For some sectors of the population, however, there were no such gains; in fact there is likely to have been a net deficit in the literacy potential among young Negro males during this time period. This inference can be made from the known facts about the decline in reading scores and IQ tests over the course of a school career for poor and for Negro students, and from the startling increase of unemployment among young Negro ghetto residents (from 23 to 30 percent over the years 1960-68 compared to a new low of 4.3 percent for all central city residents over the same time period).[11]

The other half of the dynamism is the changing levels of literacy *needed* to carry out various social roles. These too have been undergoing a mixed pattern of change, some increasing in the level of literacy required, some decreasing. All across the diversity of social roles there are simultaneous and complex changes in *both* the need for a given level of literacy and the literacy skills available. Moreover, there is in addition a varying but active social response to the preceived discrepancies between the literacy required and literacy available. An example is a situation where the *need* for literacy is increasing but the availability of literacy skills is either stable or not growing fast enough, i.e., the needs of a citizen in dealing with the political implications of modern science.

Science and technology together are producing changes so rapidly in the way the world will be or can be, and in such technical language, that large sections of the public are effectively illiterate in appreciating these changes. The social response to this discrepancy is the creation of what we can call "institutions of translation." They are typified by the formation of specialized science writers in the popular press (with the attendant rituals of briefing, tutelage of reporters by scientists, and the formation of national science writers organizations), and the shifting of

journalism school curricula toward a more scientifically oriented body of instruction. A second situation is at the opposite end, where literacy requirements are declining along with a decline in the availability of literacy levels. Such a case is that of routine factory jobs where there are political and social pressures to hire poorly educated residents of the black ghetto. The institution of translation here is the deliberate lowering of credential barriers to hiring, that is, a deliberate social response to bring the literacy levels available into harmony with the literacy levels needed to carry out a particular social role. In this case the disharmony is located within a great American disease, "creeping credentialism."

Still another example where literacy skills are static but where the needs for literacy are increasing, is that of traditional occupations recently infused with technological advance or social complexity. For example, the increasing affluence of the nation, coupled with the expanded opportunities for investment, demands different kinds of insurance, and the pressure for future planning for children's education and adult retirement have moved the insurance salesman, who formerly simply used traditional and familiar techniques to sell a limited range of life insurance policies to his clientele, toward the role of financial counselor. Some insurance companies have had to devise extensive and complex manuals of instruction for their sales staff, manuals typically based on a computerized programmed learning model. Generally, industry has increased its internal education budget rapidly over the past few years.

There is another side to the development of institutions of translation. Thus far we have discussed the *response* of those in charge of the reading situation. Yet the one who is to do the reading, be he an uneducated Negro ghetto dweller or an outmoded insurance agent, surely develops ways of accommodating to the inundating world of print, or conversely, to its absence, that allows survival if not success. These ways, which collectively might be termed functional equivalents of print, are important to identify. At one level such functional equivalents are a fundamental part of middle class life. Many people learn how to learn about things they have not read about. Lower class people undoubtedly do the same, that is, find their way around the barriers of print. One study on illiterates reports that among the people studied some had "no one who could read in their present family situations, although several indicated they had a 'reader' whose services they could borrow if necessary to read mail."[12] It would not be surprising to

discover that those in the upper reaches of literacy—scientists, intellectuals, and public policy makers—also find shortcuts to doing their literary homework.

The social process that results is, in principle, simple. Just as those in charge of a social role's literacy needs develop institutions of translation in order to reach down to their constituency's inadequate literacy, so too does that constituency reach up to the needs of their role through a variety of functional equivalents of print. This dual search for communication is often a changing one and can only be understood fully when placed within a larger framework, one that systematically confronts the two main elements of the literacy equation—availability of literacy skills and literacy needs.

What emerges from this perspective is a reconceptualization of illiteracy into the problem of *role competence with respect to the expectations and requirements of print use.* The articulation of the schools' reading programs with these complex sets of role competences may be adequate for a large range of the full literacy spectrum. But it is with critical sectors of that spectrum that the schools are insufficiently responsive to change and earn thereby the designation of marginal institutional exhaustion.

The message is clear: To understand social change and to prepare for it require intensive knowledge about the ways people use language in order to keep score on their activities and intensive knowledge about the workings of everyday and unglamorous institutions. If change is in the minds of men, where indeed it is, the roots of change are to be found in the almost unmindful, or at least limitedly mindful, routines of everyday life.

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Melting Pots, Vanishing Americans, and Other Myths*

LEONARD D. BORMAN

THE AUTHOR WELCOMES this opportunity to contribute to this issue on new concepts and trends in library service to the disadvantaged. It is assuredly a sign of growth and development for a profession, as with an individual, when such self-conscious efforts are made to reexamine practices and priorities in the face of one's objectives and accomplishments. As we focus on the disadvantaged, or more appropriately on the disestablished or disenfranchised, librarians, anthropologists, social workers, doctors, lawyers, government officials, and many more are all caught short. To quote from the preface of *The People vs. the System; A Dialogue in Urban Conflict*, "We of the establishment—meaning all of us who are part of the system and hence feel that we have or can get what we want—assumed that it was beloved as the source of security and well-being by all the right-minded. We did not understand—and they were too insecure to tell us—that . . . we who had gold to give were doling out silver."[1]

It is no longer true, of course, that library users, consumers, our informants, or tribes are reticent to tell us what they want or what they think about what we are doing. The varied styles of feedback and protest are all too clear. In such times of great ferment and reexamination, we should ask what we know about ourselves and how we use what we know to advance both knowledge and human well-being. While librarians individually may be found in public or school or medical libraries, research institutes, suburban branches, mobile units, etc., the librarian's

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mission and mandate provide a thread of unity that connects them all. Anthropologists, too, are found in many diverse specialities and settings throughout the world. Some years ago, Kenneth Boulding, perplexed with this great array of anthropological interests, doodled a limerick that could apply equally well to librarians. It goes like this:

> The whole vast perspective of man
> Is what anthropologists [read "librarians"] scan.
> So the net that they take
> Is as big as the lake;
> Let the fish get away if they can.[2]

I do not want to belabor the commonalities between librarians and anthropologists. However, I would like to say something about how our knowledge gets advanced in understanding social and cultural groups in American society and to describe a new anthropological approach that has come to be known as "action anthropology." As the reader will see, this approach combines in a novel way the two interests that both anthropology and librarianship have always professed: learning and helping. As these notions are developed, I want to reveal something of the findings of action anthropology, not only as they touch upon some of the more distinctive cultural populations in our country, but also as they tell us something of ourselves. For in the process of learning about our fellowmen, anthropologists have learned a great deal about themselves as scientists, as citizens, and as Americans. And finally, I will get to implications: what are some of the lessons we have learned about diverse groups, how we come to understand them, and what is implied for professionals and practitioners who attempt to be of service.

It may come as a rude shock to many librarians that knowledge in the social sciences does not grow by adding books to the shelves—as if they were bricks being put on a growing edifice of knowledge. Unlike the physical and biological sciences, the social sciences have few breakthroughs, few critical experiments. Rather, this knowledge has been advanced in great measure by questioning some of the earlier assumptions that were laid down by our predecessors in the study of man. It advances by studying notions we thought were so—that turned out to be "just so."

To illustrate this, it was commonly assumed, until recent years, that immigrant groups coming to America would eventually assimilate, that they would disappear into some mainstream of American culture. America was regarded as the melting pot; here diverse groups from all over the world, selected on a quota system, were to give up their "for-

eign ways" and merge into some great togetherness. This was assumed by politicians, educators, and social workers, as well as by social scientists. Our diverse ethnic groups were encouraged to get on with the business of disappearing—it was termed assimilation and Americanization. Of course, they were allowed the occasional opportunities to dress up in their exotic costumes and to serve some quaint dishes, but these were viewed as symbols or survivals of an otherwise obliterated past. Even the most "objective" students of society assumed this was the path. It was assumed that one, or two, or possibly three, generations would result in the disappearance of minority ethnic groups on the American scene. The great anthropologist, Alfred L. Kroeber, whose texts in anthropology were more widely used than any others, confessed that he found community studies in America equally monotonous and depressing. Each study appeared to him to repeat the principle that "when a bulldozer meets the soil that nature has been depositing for ages, the bulldozer always and promptly wins."[3]

This view is no longer accepted by most social scientists in America.[4] It is even more soundly rejected by the great number and variety of American ethnic groups, who view this theory as Mark Twain did his obituary—slightly exaggerated! As the eminent Harvard historian, Oscar Handlin has indicated, the so-called melting pot has not prevented American nationalities from "cultivating their own gardens." Values, language, family and kinship patterns, neighborhood and group identities, styles of life, and distinctive personalities persist. Often the first generation born of immigrant parents, in an effort to "make it" in America, and under pressures from the not-so-silent majority, seemingly turned in full flight from the heritage, traditions, and associations of their parents. Yet, many of these identities reemerged later in life or in the next generation. Nor was this reemergence based on any nonsensical notion of racial unconscious. It was simply a matter of selecting or adhering by choice to values and ways of life that were cherished.

As Handlin has stated, "In a free society such as the United States, the groups which devoted themselves to nongovernmental functions tended to follow an ethnic pattern. Men with common antecedents and ideas were usually disposed to join together to further their religious, charitable, and social interests through churches and a multitude of other organizations; and through such activities many individuals became conscious of the fact that, while they were all Americans, some were also Swedes or Jews or Dutch or Quakers."[5]

While immigrant ethnic groups have not melted into a common pot,

this by no means suggests that their cultures, their commonly shared ways of life, do not change. One of the critical findings in anthropology is that cultures have a tendency to persist longer than most of us can possibly imagine.[6] At the same time—and this may sound like a paradox—they can change radically and quickly before our very eyes. The author spent several years, for example, with a tribe of Buddhist pastoral nomadic Mongols who came to the United States as displaced persons from Russia. These were the Kalmuks, described by Thomas DeQuincey in the classic *Revolt of the Tartars*[7] as descendants of the tribes of Genghis Khan.

The Kalmuks had been a pastoral nomadic people for as long as anyone could remember. Even as they lived in the Don River area of the European portion of Russia, reorganized into the Kalmuk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, they clung to their traditions, including their customary economic pursuits. As they were about to come to the United States in 1952 under the Displaced Persons Act, everyone seemed to agree—including the Kalmuks themselves—that their best bet for economic survival and resettlement in America would be as herdsmen and ranchers in Arizona and New Mexico. This was the preference and the prediction. It was congenial with the traditional pursuits of the Kalmuks. It was also what the Kalmuks said they wanted to do when they came to America. As a result, elaborate resettlement opportunities were made in the Southwest by members of the Brethren Service Commission working closely with Church World Service.

So what happened? Within six months after arriving in America, the 100 who had been resettled in homes and jobs in New Mexico all returned to the urban areas of the East—to Philadelphia and New Jersey.[8] How could they seemingly abandon so quickly a way of life that had been set down for them for so long? It appeared that in coming to America, for the first time in their history, they were presented with a wider array of resettlement possibilities than they had ever known. Moreover, they interpreted New Mexico and Arizona, where they were first resettled, as the Siberia of America. This was America's wasteland, they said. This was where the atom bomb was tested.

They were fearful that they had been sent West so that they might disappear as a people, to follow what they had mistakenly thought had been the "final solution" of the American Indian. Within a year of their arrival in America, the entire group of 600 was living almost entirely in Philadelphia and in New Jersey. Here they were purchasing the many-roomed row houses that were available, discovering the convenience of

a credit economy, adding pizza and chopped liver and hoagies to their menu, and being employed in a great variety of small industries. While they had abandoned their traditional economic and nomadic pursuits, they retained their great interest in being identifiable as a people, even as a nation. They worked diligently to set up their Buddhist temples and their mutual aid societies. They organized to preserve their language (Ural Altaic), to record their music, to transcribe in written form oral history, legends, and folklore.

The Kalmuks were keenly aware that, with the exception of a few specialized scholars at local universities, Americans had never heard of them. Accordingly, they made a desperate effort to recreate their cultural and community identity. They could not see themselves surviving as a people if they faced cultural extinction. They even established a Committee for the Promotion of Kalmuk Culture so that interested but uninformed Americans might know who they were.

As stated earlier, one way in which knowledge gets advanced about diverse groups in American life is by questioning and testing earlier assumptions. The theory of the American melting pot is tested and yields. The Kalmuks have not been bulldozed into the American landscape, and the author doubts that they ever will be. Some individuals have chosen to strike out on their own, maintaining little or no contact with other Kalmuks. But the choice is, and should be, theirs. And our theories should be held most tentatively—to be abandoned or revised when confronted by empirical evidence.

Another process by which we advance our knowledge about peoples of America and peoples of the world is by taking new approaches in anthropological field work and by refining research methods. Here the author would like to say a word about "action anthropology." The social scientist, following the traditions of science as laid down by the granddaddy of all sciences, the physical sciences, at one time attempted to make clear and sharp distinctions between facts and values, between what is and what ought, between when he was acting as a scientist and when he was acting as a citizen. Science was involved in gathering facts for the solution of scientific problems. Citizens, administrators, and philosophers were involved in laying out the lines of policy for the solution of practical problems.

This present generation of anthropologists—or at least some of us—became impatient with this model. We were not convinced that this dichotomy helped to advance knowledge on many fronts. Moreover, we were concerned about how our findings were used, if they were used at

all. How could anthropologists conduct research with the living peoples and cultures of the world and not find themselves helping to resolve some of the many pressing practical problems that emerged? Most of the peoples that we studied were being uprooted, displaced, conquered, exploited, or subjugated in one way or another. This does not suggest that there was always an imperialist aggressor on the scene. Often cultural and community erosion was subtle, as most of the peoples we studied were encysted within larger, powerful, and alien nations or colonies.

Some anthropologists were impatient with a model of science and of scholarship that guided our activities to conduct systematic research resulting in many fine publications (but more often files and files of field notes) that were unfortunately read by very few. Perhaps knowledge on some fronts was being advanced, but not the general condition of man. To use an overworked commonplace, these anthropologists wanted the discipline to be "relevant" and their lives and work to make a difference. What was needed was a little less theory and a little more application. These anthropologists wanted to make sense about some things going on now—rather than in what anthropology regards as the "ethnographic present," prior to contact and contamination by Western culture.

Fortunately, a more appropriate anthropology was developing, and one new approach was articulated by Sol Tax at the University of Chicago over eighteen years ago.[9] He proposed that anthropologists could concurrently pursue both the goal of science, which was to advance knowledge, and the goal of administration and practice, which was to aid human welfare. These could be coordinated pursuits, with neither one taking the back seat. Learning could be hyphenated with helping. The scientist and the citizen could, in fact, be one. The anthropologist could engage in community and institutional problem-solving and do so as an anthropologist-citizen.

But action anthropology developed also through a reappraisal of the traditional model of applied science, of applied anthropology. Following the traditional model, science was to discover the principles that were then to be applied to particular cases. This was the mechanism for the utilization of scientific knowledge. Every field of science had its applied dimensions: biology and physiology had medicine; mechanics and the physical sciences had engineering; and research psychology had clinical psychology, psychiatry, and much of education. But it also became perfectly clear that in most of the applications to man, in the

human fields, there was more we needed to know than we had to apply. At the same time, we often did not know how to apply what we already knew.

The methods of action anthropology were to be clinical rather than experimental or predictive. Ends and means were not to be distinguished, but rather developed together in an ongoing process. The anthropologist was to remain in continual involvement with a population or community. In so doing, he did not see himself applying knowledge or scientific principles toward the solution of the community's problems. He was to "interact with," rather than "act on," the community concerned. He rejected the social technician image of manipulating subjects according to some experimental design or blueprint. Concern was more with discovering, developing, and clarifying goals and values. This method involved trial and error correction which requires the open, candid expression among equals, occurring in a climate of trust, not threat or coercion. The anthropologist was to reject any position of power where he could impose his views, by orders or edicts, upon others. The community was to be free to accept or reject, to offer or create, the alternatives or resolutions or compromises that emerged from the process.

Through several projects conducted under the direction of Sol Tax and some of his students and associates working with American Indians, it became perfectly clear that the vanishing American simply was not vanishing. Moreover, the numbers of American Indians were increasing, and these were Indians with tribal identities, who cherished their heritage, who were on census rolls and living in Indian settlements, and who were not about to disappear. This applied as well to the increased number of American Indians moving into urban areas. They were not disappearing. They maintained their ties with their tribes and sought association with other Indians, usually in special centers they established in the urban areas. And this was during the past twenty years following all the efforts of annihilation, isolation, reservation, termination, relocation, and Americanization.

Through years of field work activity in this new approach in anthropology by one of its pioneers, Robert Rietz, anthropologists learned that given the alternatives of sinking or swimming, the American Indian had chosen to float.[10] One of the critical findings of this early program of action anthropology with American Indians in North Dakota, Iowa, and Maine was the simple rediscovery of a people's right of self-determination. Why should a tribe or ethnic group have to accept a

prediction made by scientists or others regarding its future? Moreover, it was highly presumptuous for any of us to make such threatening and devastating prophecies about the fate of a people—usually followed by policies or programs designed to carry them out. The issues of assimilation or non-assimilation, of disappearance or survival, of wanting to swim in the mainstream or float in some side eddy was not a decision for any non-Indian to make.

Yet we were all clearly caught up in some model that was mostly beyond our awareness.[11] Some unseen syndicate seemed to have us in its grip. This model placed immigrant ethnic groups, American Indians, inner-city blacks, and even our own youth somewhere along the lower slopes of a mountain or pyramid of progress which they have been expected to climb. Reflecting an ancient model based partially on the early Christian teachings of the "fall from grace," this held sway in our own moral and cultural life and was quite congenial with an institutional model of authority drawn on the pattern of a pyramid. While this provided an efficient means for coordinating a host of activities in our society (i.e., where one reports to a boss who in turn reports to his boss who reports to a board of directors), it was inappropriate for this model to be applied to other realms of relationships and judgments. It is inappropriate for those of us who have made it, or who knowingly or unknowingly identify with the model, to stand at the top (or to think they stand at the top) and to classify the rest of humanity somewhere along the lower slopes.

This moral pyramid of progress implies that various groups should divest themselves of those values and characteristics which simply do not fit in—characteristics which are not like "ours." With the black community there were some special barriers that made it even more difficult to ascend to the Olympian heights. Through misuse and misinterpretation of intelligence tests, blacks were regarded as inferior—a finding that has been totally discredited. And if they were not able to make it, this supposed genetic handicap would be one myth wheeled into place. Or if they were not to be regarded as culturally different or distinct, as were the immigrants, or culturally backward or uncivilized, as the American Indians, the blacks were to be regarded as culturally deprived. This was tantamount to suggesting that their life and experience was so meager, so thin, that it was almost completely empty and devoid of any viable and meaningful pattern. This provided, according to Murray and Rosalie Wax, justification to do just about anything in the name of cultural enrichment.[12]

We have been hearing much about racism and institutional racism these days. But what this author has been describing can be more deeply ingrained, more widespread than racism. Racism is based on ignorance and stupidity, and on the unquestioned acceptance by whites of things as they are. But the subtle and not-so-subtle pressures that have been described and which tend to squeeze our diverse populations into very narrow pathways, into many dead ends, are more insidious than racism. This is so partly because the process is not so detectable, and partly because it is conducted under the most reputable, professional auspices.

When the brilliant sociologist Erving Goffman describes the entering ceremonies of the total institution, where patient or recruit or novice or prisoner is stripped of property, privacy and personal sense of identity —in what he calls the "mortification process"—he may be characterizing a process more general in our society.[13] Some have termed a similar process, a "degradation ceremony." This may not be confined solely to total institutions such as hospitals, prisons, or convents. Indians, immigrants, blacks, youth, and others are usually viewed as grossly deficient, even as "non-persons." Often our very systems of labeling and categorizing people serve as self-fulfilling prophecies to keep them in their places or to keep them from changing. Some have become critical of the labeling process in psychiatry where patients are given impossible diagnoses which provide little hope for recovery.[14] Often by such procedures, these labels can serve to take the practicing professional off the hook. How can he be expected to do anything with such an impossible case? In the larger picture, while we expect people to make the climb up the slope, we find many more reasons for their failure—or for our inability to be of assistance.

Let us amplify on some of the lessons we have learned that may have implications for action. First of all, America's reputation as the great melting pot or bulldozer has been greatly exaggerated. In the national struggle for identity as an emerging culture made up of many strands, there may have been a need for strongly asserting an apparent unity and minimizing, even obliterating, the differences. Exaggerated assertions as to our unity, our similarities, have born but a weak sense of conformity and ignored the true strength of our diversity. The limitations of this strong-arm style are reflected most painfully by many of our own rejecting and defiant youth. For our theories and practices have too often neglected the will or aspirations of the people—what it is they want to do and to become.

These two critical findings—that people with diverse traditions do not disappear and that their choice and aspiration represents significant rights—must be reflected in our theories and methods in social science, as well as in our agency programs, policies and practices. A great deal of ferment that we see about us, that has reached librarians, represents various attempts to correct these overlooked notions that underlie shortsighted practice.[15] If one would look today at the developing field of American Indian affairs, he will find efforts designed to redress this balance. In the summary report prepared by Robert Havighurst, the director of the National Study of American Indian Education, this goal is clearly stated:

> It is generally agreed that Indian people should have increasing influence and responsibility for their education. President Nixon, in his July, 1970 message on Indian Affairs proposed that Indians be encouraged to set up their own school boards and take over control of their education. . . . Assuming greater control over their educational systems means more power to make decisions in the local Indian community, and also more Indians active in the administrative and the teaching staff of the schools attended by Indian children and youth.[16]

This emerging pattern of participation and involvement on the part of diverse groups in regard to their schools, their colleges, their institutions, their communities, and their government, can be seen across the face of our country today. Even such institutions as veteran administration hospitals are questioning whether the service already provided to patients and clients within their settings cannot be improved by instituting "ombudsman programs" that provide outside advocates to unravel the consequences of a depersonalized bureaucracy.[17]

Even from the author's rather remote position vis-à-vis libraries, he can detect similar movements in the librarian's own field. There was considerable ferment at the special meetings in April 1970, in Chicago, during National Library Week. The representative from Bedford-Stuyvesant spoke convincingly of breaking down the established posture of much library practice. He felt that library programs should be tied to multi-purpose community organizations that include guidance to unwed mothers and addicts, programs on behalf of consumer education, tutoring programs in the community, etc. The representative from Philadelphia applauded the efforts of libraries to move in the direction of social service, for in so doing they would raise and improve the level of all humanity.

At those library meetings in Chicago, there was a spirit among some

librarians of holding on to tried and tested traditions in the onslaught of many pressures to change. The stance librarians take in regard to others should certainly apply toward themselves. For librarians, too, are a special population, albeit a professional community, that must continually combine tradition with new experience. This author recalls the special plea on behalf of the book in the face of all the new technology, television, filmstrips, and other audiovisual devices. Someone said that the book is still the greatest teaching machine ever invented. It is light, easily transported, and offers far less possibility of centralized control.

There is nothing inevitable about the disappearance of "the book." But we cannot sit passively and inertly in a changing universe. For some of us, action anthropology has bridged the gap between earlier notions that separated the man of science from the man of action. An "action librarian" exists, i.e., a professional librarian who places more than usual emphasis on the concern for how his information-reference-resources and facilities are utilized—how his very skills are put to use by the rest of us in society. The action dimension places emphasis on questioning earlier assumptions, roles and models of conduct. The action librarian participates in the formulation of policies, recommends legislation, helps to draw up appropriate budgets, and takes an aggressive and active part in his own associations. If the defense, police, and security forces of our country can make continuous and convincing pleas for what it takes to defend our country and protect our citizens, why cannot "action librarians" make a case for needs that affect our information, our literacy, our right to know and our right to read?

While there can be great anxiety and distress in this kind of ferment —for no one likes to have his feet firmly fixed in mid-air—this may be the kind of anxiety and discontent that can spawn great creative ideas, inventions and patterns of conduct. Libraries should not be viewed as inert monoliths or dinosaurs, unchanging or unresponsive. Rather they should participate rightfully in the center of our community dialogue, even as the keystone between what has gone before and what is to come.

Having opened with a quote from Kenneth Boulding, I will close with another that I think is appropriate. Boulding is concerned here with decision systems, about how things get decided in cities. But there is something more universal about it, for it speaks to all of us who are trying to get something done wherever we might be.

The reason why cities are ugly and sad
Is not that the people who live there are bad;
It's that most of the people who really decide
What goes on in the city live somewhere outside.[18]

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Library Service to American Indians

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MUCH OF WHAT IS WRONG with library service to American Indians today has been caused by the federal government's official policy and its influence on the white dominant culture. The U.S. Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education states in its report[1] that the policy of the federal government toward the American Indian has been one of coercive assimilation. This resulted in: (1) the destruction and disorganization of Indians as communities and individuals; (2) a severe and self-perpetuating cycle of desperate poverty for most Indians; (3) a nation that is massively uninformed and misinformed about the American Indian, his past and present; (4) prejudice, racial intolerance, and discrimination toward Indians which is far more widespread and serious than generally recognized by the dominant culture; (5) disastrous damage to the education of Indian children; (6) a continuous program of exploiting and expropriating Indian lands and other physical resources belonging to Indians; and (7) a self-righteous intolerance of tribal communities and cultural differences.

The dominant white society has tried to force the Indian to conform to its cultural pattern. This policy has not been successful and Indians have not been integrated into the dominant culture. Instead, through a form of cultural demolition, Indians have been subjected to the damages listed above, thus destroying the Indian's own culture while denying him real access to the benefits enjoyed by the paternalistic dominant culture. For Indians, this has resulted in a shortened life span and high rates of infant mortality, suicide, school dropout, unemployment, alcoholism and other physical and mental disabilities.

It is important for non-Indians to realize that the Indians' problems within the dominant culture are different from the problems of other minority groups. In contrast to most blacks, Indians as a group want to retain their own culture and control their own lives and institutions.

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They do not want to be integrated into the white culture. They are proud of their cultural heritage and want to continue to be Indians.

It is also important for non-Indians to understand these Indian cultural values. Although there are 315 distinct tribal communities in the United States, there are cultural similarities which are common to all. This culture has contributed valuable elements to the dominant culture and could make an even greater contribution if the dominant culture were wise enough to adopt more from the Indian culture. Among these admirable traits is the extended family: the survival of the individual was possible because within the clan, food, clothing and material possessions were shared, and working together, sharing and cooperation were emphasized. Another is that religion was part of every aspect of Indian life. Indians believed in living in harmony with nature and that the earth was to be shared by all and owned by none. Another is the extension of generosity to strangers; still another is that there is a limit to the effectiveness of criminal punishment as a solution to law and order problems and that it is better to rely on group pressure and disapproval. Vine Deloria, Jr., says that America is undergoing a revolution and that white man's society is crumbling under the pressures of a changing world, while the Indian way of life emerges as the most stable, flexible and enduring of all.[2] Tribalism may be the salvation of this country according to Deloria.

To serve properly non-Indian library users, as well as Indian library users, libraries must have accurate library materials about the American Indian. Vogel indicates that in many of our accepted American history publications the Indian has been treated as follows:

1. *Obliteration.* Perhaps the chief problem in the historical treatment of the American Indian and other minorities is not the biased presentation, but the blackout. To some historians, the American Indian is an unperson, or nearly so.
2. *Disembodiment.* This school acknowledged the existence of the Indian, but only as a subhuman nomad, a part of the fauna belonging to the wilderness yet to be conquered. In short, he was a troublesome obstacle to be overcome.
3. *Defamation.* This school denigrates the Indian. Calling attention to all of his faults and none of his virtues, it condemns him to a status of inferiority in intelligence and adaptability.
4. *Disparagement.* The fourth way the Indian is scalped by historians is by disparagement of, or denial of, his extensive contributions to our culture.[3]

In *Textbooks and the American Indian,* thirty-two Indian scholars, historians and students evaluated 300 books for accuracy of facts and found that not one could be approved as a dependable source of knowledge about the history and culture of the American Indians.[4] The findings of these Indian scholars illustrate how American children are taught that Indians were treacherous, decadent, godless and that the theft of their lands by white settlers was compatible with the doctrine of manifest destiny and the need to bring Christian civilization to the pagans. This misrepresentation of Indians held by so many white people has been denounced by Indian intellectuals and leaders for many years.

Since many librarians and publishers are not fully cognizant of Indian values and cultural contributions, guidelines for the evaluation of Indian materials are greatly needed. Two excellent guideline statements compiled by Indians for materials especially for children and young people but applicable to adult materials are found in *Textbooks and the American Indian*[5] and *American Indians: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Library Resources.*[6] The latter publication was used for the statement below which was submitted by the Subcommittee on Indian Materials for approval by the Adult Services Division Board, American Library Association, midwinter meeting, 1971.

GUIDELINES FOR THE EVALUATION OF INDIAN MATERIALS FOR ADULTS

Truth and art are two criteria of evaluation which can be applied to all types of material. Truth includes accurate sources and treatment of material and qualified authorship. Art is concerned with the quality of presentation—creative power, sincerity, originality and style. Although both of these criteria are embodied in the guidelines listed below, greater emphasis is given to truth because of the misrepresentation of the American Indian in much of the materials existing today.

The first three guidelines are basic principles. The additional guidelines reinforce the basic ones. It is hoped that the following statement will be valuable and useful to publishers and producers of adult materials as well as to librarians working with adults.

BASIC

1. Is the image of the Indian one of a real human being, with strengths and weaknesses, acting in response to his own nature and his own times? If material is fictional, are the characters realistically developed? Are situations true or possibly true to Indian ways of life?

2. Does the material present both sides of the event, issue, problem, or other concern? Is comparable information presented more effectively in other material?
3. Are the contributions of American Indian culture to Western civilization given rightful and accurate representation and is this culture evaluated in terms of its own values and attitudes rather than in terms of those of another culture?

ADDITIONAL

1. What are the author's or producer's qualifications to write or produce material dealing with American Indians?
2. Does the material contain factual errors or misleading information?
3. Does the material perpetuate stereotypes or myths about the American Indian? Does the material show an obvious or subtle bias?
4. Do illustrations authentically depict Indian ways of life?
5. How might the material affect an Indian person's image of himself?
6. Would the material help an Indian identify with and be proud of his heritage?
7. Does the material express Indian values and might it help an American Indian to reconcile his own values with conflicting ones?
8. Does the material present a positive or negative image of the American Indian and how might the material affect the non-Indian's image of Indian people?
9. Are loaded words (i.e., buck, squaw, redskin, etc.) used in such a way as to be needlessly offensive, insensitive, or inappropriate?
10. Does the material contain much of value but require additional information to make it more relevant or useful?[6]

The average librarian may experience some difficulty in applying all of these guidelines, since many people are themselves not fully aware of Indian values and cultural contributions and may not yet have developed a full sensibility to materials which either offend or denigrate the American Indian. Therefore, it is important to investigate if the material has been reviewed or evaluated by a person who is knowledgeable about American Indians as well as other aspects of the subject of the material.

It is important that Indian materials be as accurate in libraries serving non-Indians as materials are in libraries serving Indians. To help clear up the misrepresentation of the Indian in books and other materials, non-Indians must have access to accurate library materials about the American Indian.

Librarians should pressure trade and other publishers and help them produce valid materials about Indians. Librarians also should be familiar with Indian-oriented publishers and distributors such as American Indian Educational Publishers (also uses the imprint the Indian Historical Press, Inc.), San Francisco (organized and directed by American Indians); and Black Hills Books, Rapid City, South Dakota (Indian owned). The University of Oklahoma Press has published many accurate works and some of the trade publishers have an enlightened policy which has resulted in books such as Harper's *House Made of Dawn*[7] by N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa Indian who received a Pulitzer Prize for this novel), Macmillan's publications of Vine Deloria, Jr.'s books, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*[8] (this Sioux-authored book made the bestseller list) and *We Talk, You Listen; New Tribes, New Turf.*[2] Harper's publication of Stan Steiner's *The New Indians,*[9] and the Knopf publication of Alvin M. Josephy, Jr.'s *The Indian Heritage of America*[10] have added to the literature on Indians acceptable from the Indian point-of-view.

To have current information about the Indian world, librarians should subscribe to *Akwesasne Notes.*[11] Edited by Jerry Gambill, a Mohawk, the paper is a comprehensive digest of articles, editorials, cartoons and Indian writing taken from dozens of American and European periodicals, newspapers, and local tribal publications. For more Indian newspapers and periodicals, see the list in *American Indians: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Library Resources.*[12]

There are three aspects of literature by and for Indians which require urgent attention. First, there is the need of preserving an oral literature of legends, myths, sagas and poetry existing in many tribal languages. Sound and visual recording could preserve much of this literature as well as music, songs, and dances. The second aspect is the need for more materials in Indian languages. There are nearly 300 Indian languages in use today in this country and many Indians, especially children, use only their mother tongue. This becomes a problem for Indian students when they are taught by teachers who know only English and use only materials in English. The Navahos, in some of their schools, are using Navaho. There are some public school systems with Indian students which have developed bilingual programs, but this remains a problem for many Indians who do not speak English. The third aspect is to make materials for Indians meaningful to them. The Navaho Curriculum Center, Rough Rock Demonstration School, Rough Rock, Arizona, is developing a series of books which will give

the Navaho child a sense of worth in himself, his family, his community and nation. So many books in schools and libraries are effective in helping to establish positive identification for the white, middle class child. The same kind of material and treatment is needed for minority group children. Indian adults also need materials which are meaningful to them but might not be as meaningful to non-Indians.

To get an overview of library services today, this writer sent letters to all state library and education agencies in states with sizable Indian populations, to cities which had large urban Indian communities, to schools and colleges which had large Indian student enrollments, and to the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Many publications were also consulted. The basic pattern revealed by this correspondence and search is that library service to Indians, whether public, school or academic, is generally an integral part of the library service being provided for students or the general public. This, of course, has the strength of drawing upon a broad range of talent and materials. Its weakness is that the needs of Indians differ in many respects from the needs of the majority culture.

Respondents sent many examples of special efforts in library service to Indians, so many in fact that only a few can be used as examples of the innovative which have implications for use elsewhere. A major exception to the general pattern is in the schools operated by the BIA. These schools are operated entirely for Indians. The bureau reports operating 225 schools in seventeen states, including on-reservation day schools and boarding schools, and off-reservation boarding schools, which range in size from one-teacher, one-room units to large secondary and post-secondary institutions. Each has a school library appropriate to its size, and there are fifty-five librarians employed. The bureau operates or plans to operate four bookmobiles, one air bookmobile in Alaska, a number of large media centers and its own instructional service center which includes a professional library and film library. This instructional service center was established in 1968, has a 15,000 volume professional library, and circulates materials to some 7,000 BIA staff members.

The bureau also gives assistance through Johnson-O'Malley funds to public schools which are located near reservation areas. The service center not only serves BIA schools, but also nearly 1,000 public schools which enroll Indian children. The BIA also offers assistance in the areas of training, instructional media and software production. The center is funded through a combination of federal sources, including

the BIA and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title I. From other sources, it appears that most of this program is operated by people from the majority culture, and that the materials and services provided have the same shortcomings as were stated earlier.

Turning from the federal to the state level, we find that most states report that Indian children usually go to public schools, where school libraries serve them in the same way they do other students. However, some basic enrichment programs, especially for Indian students, are being developed by state education agencies. A dynamic example is the rapidly developing Indian-staffed Indian Education Section in the Minnesota State Department of Education. It has a staff of highly qualified professionals who supervise all state educational programs for Indians in the public schools and in basic adult education. It initiates and participates in institutes, formal courses, workshops and other meetings, and produces materials for improving Indian education. It directed the Library Services Institute for Minnesota Indians at the University of Minnesota which is a landmark in the field.

An exciting innovation at the local school level is the Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona. It is the only known example of a successful school under tribal control. It is funded by a combination of funds from the BIA, the U.S. Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity, and is supported at a much higher level than other schools on the Navaho reservation. It must be admitted that this is an exceptional case. The poor educational environment provided for Indians generally, including inadequate school libraries, is still reported most frequently throughout the literature.

Another example comes from California. The Klamath-Hoopa High School, where the student body contains many Indians, has developed a non-graded individualized reading program conducted by a full-time librarian and two part-time clerks for 397 pupils. The library is open to all during the school day, and the librarian encourages the use of print and audiovisual materials through individual guidance. The collection consists of over 10,000 volumes (twenty-five per child), 109 magazines, four newspapers and a large collection of all kinds of audiovisual materials except 16mm. film which it contracts from the county. The library circulates its materials freely to classrooms and for individual home use.

At the Hardin High School Library, Hardin, Montana, the librarian has been working with the advisor to assist the High School Indian Club, including ordering books for Indian students. The students themselves are also concerned with their own Indian Community Library,

which was started by VISTA workers. The Indian community is fifteen miles from Hardin, and the older students use it as a study center and a place for tutoring younger Indian children.

The state library extension agencies, in states with sizable Indian populations, report that their Indian communities receive service in the same way that other citizens receive public library services. However, some also report that under the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) Title I, they have been developing projects that are directed specifically toward serving Indians. Again there are illustrative innovations and illustrative problems.

At the time of the library institute at the College of St. Catherine,[13] the Minnesota State Library Agency had just instituted a project for public library service to Indians involving three large regional library systems. The concept of the "influential other" was utilized in order to improve the regional library services to a number of reservation areas. A full-time staff member, a Chippewa in this case, was hired to serve as liaison librarian between the East Central Regional Library, the Kitchigami Regional Library, and the Arrowhead Library System and the Indian communities and reservations. These three systems together serve all but one of the Chippewa reservations in Minnesota. The project budget includes the liaison librarian's salary, his travel, and funds for special Indian materials.

The current incumbent, a college graduate but without formal library education, is attached to the staff of the Arrowhead system, but lives on the Red Lake Reservation in the Kitchigami area. He is knowledgeable about and acceptable to the Indian community and provides invaluable counsel and assistance in the developing of public library service to the Indians. An interesting report on these activities by the director of the Arrowhead Library System is contained in a recent issue of *Minnesota Libraries*.[14] A study of reading patterns found that the first interests of Indian users were in the history of American Indians, especially of their own areas, Indian crafts, Indian folklore, and positive materials on Indian culture in general. After this initial pattern, a reading pattern emerged which would not be surprising or extraordinary among people in any part of the country.

One of the major achievements of this project has been establishing some decision-making in and feedback from the Indian community. There are six different bands of Chippewas involved, and the problems among them differ in geography and communications. The general re-

port is that Indians have accepted the services of the bookmobile when they have been properly introduced to its use and become accustomed to it. However, as can be seen from the report,[14] this has not always been easy. On one reservation where tribal council authority is strongest, the liaison librarian had to work long and hard to convince the council that the bookmobile should be permitted on their reservation, and that their help was needed in working out its schedule of stops. The result, as might be expected, is that with council backing the library service has gotten off to an enthusiastic start.

The South Dakota Library Commission, plagued by lack of money and by the remote distances to its three large Sioux reservations, has succeeded in augmenting LSCA funds with Johnson-O'Malley funds in order to develop its plan for library services on reservations. It involves cooperation with local public library and school agencies and the state department of education. There is extensive use of bookmobiles and the materials resources of the commission. Tribal councils participate in the project as coordinating agents for library services on the reservations.

Wisconsin reports the only known example of a governing library board composed of Indians. When the Menominees were "separated" from reservation status, they organized what had been their reservation as a new county. The Menominee County Library was established with LSCA Title I funds. It has an Indian board and Indian library staff, which are keys to its success since it operates on a minimal budget. It contracts with the Shawano County Library for reference and other special services. In Brown County, LSCA funds have been used to establish a branch of the county library in the Oneida Indian community.

Many states report that remote Indian communities which are not served by or not convenient to established public libraries rely heavily upon the state agency extension collections. Both New Mexico and Oklahoma report offering extended supplementary services from the state agency to strengthen services to Indians. Washington State also reports an Indian aide who provides communication and special library programs for children in one of its systems.

Comments on the problems of public library services come from Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Minnesota. In addition to the attempts to allay and overcome the natural suspicions of the Indian community, the public library faces situations with which it is not normally prepared to cope. There are language barriers which present great difficul-

ties, and differences in levels of literacy which require a combination of tact and appropriate materials to overcome.

New Mexico librarians, like many others, first had to overcome the natural shyness of Indian people and to allay their distrust of strangers. But in New Mexico there is also a language problem greater than that faced in any other place. The Indians' first language will be their own, in many different dialects; Spanish is often the second language; and English is the third! This compounds the normal problem of dealing with pride which does not want to admit to illiteracy or ignorance, with reading levels ranging from the illiterate to college levels, and reading interests as broad as found for any average public library clientele.[15]

Librarians in other areas also report difficulties with language barriers, low levels of literacy and the lack of printed materials in some Indian languages. The Billings Public Library in Montana, for example, serves the Crow Indian reservation, and there is little if any material in any form in that language. The library has hired Indians who speak Crow. Librarians who try to develop service under these conditions must forget library school theory and try any feasible program. Audiovisual materials are being produced by the libraries themselves to bridge some of this gap, and the New Mexico and Minnesota reports[16] indicate that young children are found to be reversing the traditional storyteller's role and are reading to their illiterate parents.

While life for an American Indian on a reservation can be difficult, many urban Indians find that city life is even more so. The cross cultural confusion is compounded by the fact that BIA programs for Indians on reservations do not apply to Indians in urban situations. This frequently results in the Indian becoming invisible which makes it difficult for urban libraries to reach him. Special efforts must be made if the public library is to reach the urban Indian with meaningful service.

The St. Paul Public Library is working with the local American Indian Center to develop the center's own library, to provide resources to augment the center's services and to help plan programs for the center. The Cleveland Public Library has used LSCA Title I funds for a project which is coordinated by an Indian library staff member. It is designed to bring relevant service to Indians and to make non-Indians more aware of the problems which face the Indians who live in Cleveland. There, too, the library works with the American Indian Center, as does the Chicago Public Library. In Chicago, the public library furnishes a portable library of paperbacks to the center, the Summer Story

Caravan stops weekly at the center, and bibliographies and exhibits about Indians are provided by the library.

The Sioux City Public Library in Iowa is pioneering with interstate cooperation. A large part of the urban Indian population there comes from the Omaha and Winnebago tribes located across the Missouri River in Nebraska, and the project involves both urban and rural areas. The plan was approved by representatives of the Iowa State Traveling Library; the Nebraska Library Commission; William Cunningham, Library Services Program Officer, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Region VII; the Winnebago Tribal Council; the vice-chairman of the Omaha Tribal Council; city council of Sioux City; Sioux City Indian Center; BIA officials in the Winnebago Community Action Program; and an official of the Nebraska Indian Commission. The plan will involve the cooperation of all interested agencies, including tribal councils. LSCA Title I funds amounting to $20,000 are being provided through the two state library agencies, and the working contract is between the public library and the Nebraska Library Commission.

The project also includes the use of library aides through local community action programs, and the two tribal councils are applying for Johnson-O'Malley funds. Four young Indian women are now being trained as library aides.

The library has leased a van which will be used to transport materials, and there will be deposit stations in the tribal communities at Winnebago and Macy. An aide will be on duty at each station. Two other aides, with the van, will provide service for non-reservation Indians between the towns at four scheduled stops and a number of "gate stops" on the way. The materials collection will emphasize Indian history and culture.

Another objective is to help Sioux City Indians develop their potential as contributing members of society in the framework of their particular culture. This part of the plan is specifically aimed toward alleviation of the conditions of Indians by recognizing their problems, building self-confidence by stressing the history and culture of their people, supplying practical how-to-do-it books, encouraging Indian youth to remain in school, and helping Indians to develop their natural talents. A secondary aim is to educate the non-Indian of the community to the values of the Indian culture and thus bring about understanding of their problems. The librarian who designed and coordinates the project reports that one heartening thing is the enthusiasm with which the idea of library service is being received by tribal leaders in an area where

there has never before been a thought of having such an opportunity.

Like public and school libraries, most academic libraries which serve Indian students consider them as part of the regular clientele. However, in institutions having Indian studies programs there is usually greater effort made to give better service to Indian students and faculty members by acquiring publications which the program feels are important for its curriculum. Most such programs are just starting. The University of Minnesota Libraries, for example, report that as the special needs of their American Indian studies program become more sharply defined they will attempt to establish some innovative projects.

Virgil Massman, director of libraries at the University of South Dakota, has been actively involved in Indian projects on campus. He helped plan the special Indian program which has given Indian students a greater sense of identity and feeling of belonging and which has been favorably received by non-Indian students and faculty members. Massman also participated in writing the proposal and setting guidelines for the American Indian Research Project which began in 1967 with funds from the Doris Duke Foundation. As a result of the project, the library now has over 1,000 tapes of interviews with Sioux, Chippewa and other Indians and non-Indians. The tapes will be basic for historical studies at the university and will broaden the non-Indian's understanding of the Indian. This oral history collection is listed in two volumes which have been distributed nationally. In addition the library has a seminar room reserved for Indian students which houses current books and periodicals of interest to them, and recently there has been discussion of the prospect of providing research materials to educators on the reservations.

The Cuautemoc-Tecumseh Library, University of California, Davis Campus, will include all types of records relating to the various Indian peoples of all the Americas and to all Indian-derived groups such as the Chicanos. The library will provide safekeeping for personal papers, tribal records, organizational records, tape recordings, films, photographs, microfilm and government documents. The library will be administered as part of the Department of Special Collections. Jack Forbes, director of the Native American Studies Program, says that this library will be dedicated especially to collecting contemporary materials in a comprehensive way. This differs from the policy of many libraries which collect materials relating to Indians as an incidental part of other subjects or focus upon the early years of white-Indian relations. Currently the Davis Campus Library is acquiring BIA records

relating to California and adjacent states as well as materials relating to Cherokees, Iroquois, Algonquians, Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Navahos, and other groups. The library already has microfilm copies of all BIA correspondence from California, 1848-1880, as well as a good collection of books and periodicals about both Indians and Chicanos.

Navaho Community College was established by the Navaho Tribe on its reservation in 1969. The college library began operating a semester and summer after the college opened. A sum of $100,000 was given to the library by Lucy Moses and the Donner Foundation. After the immediate goals of 20,000 volumes and a library building are achieved, the library will need annual support of from $30,000 to $50,000 a year for personnel and for acquisition of new materials, including out-of-print Indian books. The collection is emphasizing Indian materials with a heavy concentration on Southwestern tribes. Its goal is to obtain everything written by or about Navahos and at least something about all Indian tribes.[17]

During the last several years federal funds have supported institutes which emphasized library service to American Indians. In June 1969, the College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, had a two-week institute[13] on public library service to the disadvantaged adult, especially to the Indian community. From June 1969-June 1970, the University of Minnesota had an institute[6] which emphasized school library services to Indians. The University of Oklahoma, Department of Library Science, has held two summer institutes[18] on the topic, one in 1969 and one in 1970, and in the summer of 1970 the New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, sponsored an institute[19] on library service for Indians and Mexican Americans. There also have been a number of other institutes and workshops concerned with library services to the disadvantaged which have included services to American Indians.

In summary, suggestions for improving library services to American Indians are:

1. Give Indians more influence in determining what library services they need at the local, state and federal levels. It is important to get Indian representation on the library, school or college board in proportion to the number of Indians in the community. It is important that decisions regarding what library services are needed are made by Indians, not by non-Indian librarians or boards.
2. Work for more funds from the federal government to improve library services to the American Indians.
3. Make an intensive effort to recruit Indians for librarianship. There

are few professional librarians who are American Indians. At the 1971 midwinter meeting, the American Library Association Council passed a resolution to establish a position of minorities recruitment specialist.[20] There is also a great need for Indian liaison library staff members to work with Indian communities. These staff members must be acceptable to the Indians and knowledgeable about Indian culture.

4. Have special library science education programs for Indians and urge the federal government to increase funds for these programs.
5. Establish a permanent program to evaluate materials about Indians with regard to both accuracy and attitude.
6. Encourage the publishing of accurate and meaningful materials about Indians and for Indians.
7. Expand continuing education and inservice training institutes and workshops on library service to Indians, especially for non-Indian librarians and staff members who have little knowledge of Indian culture or how to serve this minority group. It is essential to recognize that the Indians differ from other minority groups in cultural outlook and background.
8. Work with Indian groups, both nongovernmental and governmental, and with organizations working with Indians, in order to achieve better library services for Indians. In some states there are very active state agencies which have responsibilities toward Indians. National associations which are directed by Indians are: National Indian Education Association; American Indian Movement; Americans for Indian Opportunity; National Congress of American Indians; United Native Americans, Inc.; National Indian Youth Council; League of Nations, Pan American Indians; Coalition of American Indian Citizens; and American Indian Centers. Organizations like the Indian Upward Bound Project, Community Action Programs, VISTA, BIA and others working with the Indian communities should be consulted when planning library programs. Librarians should be aware, however, that the BIA has been severely criticized by many of the above-mentioned Indian organizations as well as in the report of the U. S. Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education.[21]
9. Have library materials and programs which will eliminate the misrepresentations about Indians and their culture. Emphasize the many contributions the Indians have given to non-Indian cultures.
10. Collect primary source materials about Indians. Undertake oral history projects and produce films and other materials about Indians.
11. Have programs which will enable libraries to give books and other materials to Indians. The possession of some books by individuals from a non-book culture might be an excellent orientation to li-

braries. This would also help Indians who do not have accessible library services.

12. Encourage professional associations to emphasize library services to Indians. The Americaan Library Association has three groups working in this area: Adult Services Division, Subcommittee on Indian Materials; American Association of School Librarians, Committee on the Treatment of Minorities in Library Materials; and the Social Responsibilities Round Table, Task Force on the American Indian. There needs to be more programming on this subject at national, state and local library conferences as well as more attention given to projects which would improve the library situation for Indians.

The U.S. Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education recommends: "That there be set a national policy committing the nation to achieving educational excellence for American Indians; to maximum participation and control by Indians in establishing Indian education programs; and to assuring sufficient Federal funds to carry these programs forward."[22] If this policy were to be adopted and put into effect, there should be a miraculous improvement not only in school libraries but also in public, academic and special libraries serving American Indians.

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Public Library Service in the Southern Appalachian Region: An Overview

EVELYN COSKEY

THE TERM "Southern Appalachian Region" is one of the most ambiguous in the American language. Virtually each person and every organization dealing with the area have their own definition of exactly what it includes. As defined by Thomas R. Ford in *The Southern Appalachian Region; A Survey,*[1] the area includes all but the northwesternmost counties of West Virginia; thirty-one counties in the western part of Virginia; thirty-two in eastern Kentucky; twenty-two in western North Carolina; thirty-seven in east Tennessee; twenty in northwest Georgia; and five in northeastern Alabama. For purposes of this study, the author will consider as Southern Appalachia all of that area plus the eleven remaining counties in West Virginia, three additional counties in North Carolina and twenty-eight more in northern and northwestern Alabama, all of which are regarded as in Appalachia for purposes of their state library programs. All told, 233 counties having an approximate population of 7,878,513 people and a land area of 105,000 square miles[2] will be included in this study. It is one of the least understood regions in the United States.

Geographically, the area is a mixture. Basically composed of three quite clearly defined divisions, the Southern Appalachians include some of the most spectacular scenery, some of the richest deposits of coal and other minerals, some of the most appalling poverty, and some of the strongest, most independent people found anywhere in the world. On the eastern rim are most of the actual mountains, an area which includes the Blue Ridge and Black Mountains, the latter group

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encompassing the world renowned Great Smokies. In the center is what sociologists term the Great Valley, a region composed of four major valleys and their accompanying ridges; on the western edge is the Cumberland Plateau,[3] characterized by its extraordinarily rich seams of coal, and by an abundance of streams and narrow valleys, some of them so deep that they are little more than slits in the earth in which sunrise comes around ten in the morning, and sunset is about three in the afternoon. Further to the southwest, in Alabama, are rich deposits of iron ore. Contrary to popular belief, the Southern Appalachian area is not predominantly mountainous. It is an area which is frequently characterized by terrain so rugged that in a few isolated sections, even today, mail is occasionally carried on muleback and four-wheel drive vehicles are a virtual necessity. In some parts of Kanawha County, West Virginia, for example, the board of education must transport children on minibusses because the standard ones are unable to negotiate the roads leading to the more remote hollows. Especially in the Cumberland Plateau, the abundance of streams makes flooding an ever-present danger and a perpetual problem. A sudden downpour or hard thaw in the springtime can quickly turn an almost dry creek into a raging torrent, capable of sweeping away homes and isolating the inhabitants.

Most of the Southern Appalachian region is sparsely settled. Much of it is difficult to live in, at best, because the very nature of the terrain discourages the development of many of the things Americans take for granted—good roads, a plentiful supply of water, schools, industry, and public libraries.

There are remarkably few cities or metropolitan areas of any size in Southern Appalachia. In West Virginia, there is the Charleston metropolitan area; another in the Huntington vicinity which includes eastern Kentucky's Boyd County, the sole metropolitan area in that part of the state; a third in the Wheeling vicinity; and another around Parkersburg. In Appalachian Virginia there is only the Roanoke area; in North Carolina, Asheville; in Georgia, Walker County is part of the Greater Chattanooga area in Tennessee; Tennessee has another heavy concentration in the Knoxville area. In Alabama, there are Florence, Birmingham, Huntsville, and Gadsden. In many parts of Southern Appalachia, the population of an entire county is apt to be less than that of a small town in other parts of the nation.[4] Except for the metropolitan areas, which show population gains, the total number of people within the region is declining.

The lack of metropolitan areas means that it is common for a family to find it necessary to travel at least fifty miles to reach an adequate shopping center and trips of over one hundred miles each way sometimes must be made if major medical attention is needed. For example, most of eastern Kentucky must depend on Lexington in the Bluegrass region as its primary resource center.

Economically, the Southern Appalachians are desperately troubled. Very little of the land is suitable for farming on any scale, and in many sections the limited amount of water is a deterrent to industrial development.[5] Though marvelously rich in coal, commercial quality timber, iron ore, limestone, clay, natural gas and, in some places, water resources which can provide both hydroelectric power and transportation, the area is feeling the effects of the demon/blessing of the twentieth century: automation. Until automation came, many of the men living in the area held jobs in small mines or other similar operations. Now many men are being replaced with just a few machines, and there is virtually nowhere else in the area for the men to find other work. The various federal anti-poverty programs are providing a means of survival but often at the price of a man's self-respect. Few of these programs have accomplished what the people themselves want and have proved that they can handle—outside guidance in solving their problems, but not outsiders coming in and solving their problems for them.[6] As a result, one of two things frequently happens: (1) the family goes on some form of welfare, often federally funded, and oftentimes ultimately destructive to the essence of the family structure; or (2) the family leaves the Appalachians to live in an urban area where the parents can find employment. Whole books have been written about the problems faced by migrants from Southern Appalachia trying to adjust to life in the urban North.

Several factors have greatly influenced the development of public libraries in the Southern Appalachians. All are so closely linked that it is difficult to separate them.

One of the most basic is the nature of the people who settled the region. Except for a rather heavy influx of English into North Carolina, the Southern Appalachians were settled by thrifty, Bible-reading Scotch-Irish who placed more emphasis on religion than on formal education. In the areas settled by the English—which include most of the actual mountainous country in the regions—schools, from the very beginning, were considered of great importance. Many of these early schools, as was true in much of the rest of Appalachia, were self-help

type boarding institutions which were usually operated by a church, often a northern-based denomination. In all parts of the region these schools were, in many cases, the first contact the young people had with books because their parents frequently were unable to read and write. Even today, the rate of functional illiteracy (considered as fifth grade reading level or below) is much higher in Appalachia than it is in most other parts of the United States. People who can barely read and write are not likely to consider it of any crucial importance that their children have access to good libraries.

The nature of the lives of those in Southern Appalachia is also a factor. Especially years ago people who had to work from dawn to dark in order to survive were too tired to have any desire for books, even if the books were available.

Still another factor is the influence left by the Civil War which disrupted life all over the region. West Virginia was particularly hard hit by the controversy and took many years to recover from its effects.

Another factor, and frequently today a very important one, is the matter of local politics. When public libraries first began to reach into rural areas, it was customary for the superintendent of schools to serve on the library board. In the beginning, this practice was based on the belief—often correct—that he was one of the few people in the community with enough knowledge of libraries to be intelligent on the matter. In time, his presence came to be viewed more as a possible conflict of interest than as something of real benefit to the library. Virginia still requires the presence of the county superintendent of schools on the county library board, but the Kentucky attorney general ruled several years ago that this could no longer be done.[7]

In some areas of the Southern Appalachians, all county funds are closely controlled by the board of education. What members of this body think is important generally gets financed; what they think is unimportant does not. However, in some instances, cooperation with boards of education has been excellent. In Charleston, West Virginia, Nicholas Winowich, director of the Kanawha County Public Library, reports that the public library could never have developed to the extent it has without the support and encouragement of the Kanawha County Board of Education.

Because of the geographic, economic, and sociological problems, public library service has developed slowly in the Appalachian region. In the early days, it was confined almost exclusively to the metropolitan areas and frequently operated as a project of the local women's club or

some other civic-minded organization. Outside of these areas, public library service was usually limited to pack horse libraries,[8] small, selected collections of books carried into the more remote areas on horseback or, more often, muleback; to deposit collections placed in accessible stores or in homes of responsible citizens; or to such early ventures as Berea College's horsedrawn book wagon which made regular trips as far back as 1912 into the countryside surrounding the college. In view of the distances involved, the condition of the roads (or, frequently, the absence of roads entirely), and transportation problems, these early attempts did much to bring books to an almost exclusively rural population. In many instances they were the only cultural outlet the people had and, inadequate as they might seem by today's standards, were greatly appreciated. But most people simply did without.

Though public libraries had received aid under a variety of federal emergency work relief programs beginning in the early 1930s,[9] the first major breakthrough for Appalachia came in the form of outright assistance from the old Works Projects Administration (WPA), an anti-poverty tool of the Franklin D. Roosevelt era.[10] The aim of the WPA was to reduce the number of unemployed in the United States and through its library program to attack the major problem of making library service to rural Americans more nearly equal to that found in the urban areas. Incidentally, the program gave many library administrators within the region the opportunity they had long wanted to demonstrate logical plans for state-wide library service.

Under the WPA plan for improving library service, each project was regarded as the means to an end and was designed to strengthen existing state programs, not to compete with them. Working within the framework of the state library agency, the projects were set up on a state-wide basis and were run by professionally trained librarians working with federal funds. A core of semiprofessionals, with some training, assisted the professionals with the administrative work.[11] Books were regarded as tools in the demonstration program and so could justifiably be purchased with federal monies. Much other money was spent on ways of getting the books to the rural people; in particular, bookmobiles were either bought outright or rented for the duration of the demonstration project.

Though only forty of the then forty-eight states were sponsoring WPA library projects by 1940, each state within Appalachia was involved in the plan. (There is no way to tell if Appalachian counties in participating states were involved, except in the case of West Virginia

which is entirely Appalachia.) Perhaps one of the most successful projects took place in Talladega County, Alabama, where several agencies participated in a jointly managed, county-wide library service.[12] The project later passed out of WPA sponsorship and into the hands of the local government.

In addition to sponsoring demonstration libraries, the WPA library projects also provided for construction and repair of library buildings, for the preparation and publication of various library tools, and for the provision of additional workers to assist in improving the programs in existing libraries. In some ways, the WPA project bore a distinct resemblance to the next major advance in the development of library service in Appalachia—the Library Services Act (LSA).[13]

The Library Services Act was passed by Congress in 1956. The main purpose of the act was to make it possible for the states to develop rural library services programs and, like the WPA library projects, the stress was on demonstration libraries. Since the end of the WPA in 1942, severe limitations on funds had made much rural work impossible, acute though the need was known to be. The Library Services Act helped alleviate the problem.

Initially, the act provided $7.5 million a year for a five-year period. By 1959, LSA funds had either provided for new or vastly improved library service for 30 million Americans living in rural areas, many of them within the boundaries of the Southern Appalachian region. Also like the WPA projects, work under the act was done through the state library agency with funds provided by the federal government. In 1960 the act was extended and in 1964 it was amended to include non-rural areas and to provide funds for construction purposes. At that time, the act formally became known as the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA).

In March 1965 the public libraries of the Southern Appalachian region received another boon from the federal government when the Appalachian Regional Development Act[14] was passed by Congress. Previously, two serious problems had existed in funding many library projects: (1) often the area involved could not raise money to match the federal grant as required under the LSCA, and (2) public libraries were not eligible for participation in other programs which subsidized needed facilities within Appalachia. Section 214 of the Appalachian Regional Development Act addressed both problems. Areas which had previously found it impossible to improve public library service were able to expand it or to initiate service where none had existed.

Under the terms of the Appalachian Regional Development Act, the

projects must pass extremely careful scrutiny at both the local and state library agency levels before they are approved. In no instance can a project be approved unless it can be shown that it will serve an area with considerable growth potential and is one in which the return on public dollars spent will be maximized.

Public library service in the Southern Appalachian region has improved greatly since the passage of the original Library Services Act in 1956, but much remains to be done. Some parts of the area have excellent library service, other parts have pathetically poor service. State by state, this is how the picture appears to one Appalachian public librarian in 1971.

VIRGINIA

Public library service is provided in most of Virginia's thirty-one Appalachian counties. The eight unserved counties are predominently rural, mountainous and sparsely settled. Randolph Church, state librarian, reported that Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) funds were expended for public library construction[15] and are noted as follows:

1966/1967	Tazewell County Library	$69,878
1969/1970	Lee County Branch, Lonesome Pine Regional Library	$69,200
1970/1971	Wythe-Grayson Regional Library	$53,629
	Buchanan County Public Library	$67,396

There were no ARC expenditures for the fiscal years 1967/1968 and 1968/1969.

WEST VIRGINIA[16]

Due to the energetic leadership of Dora Ruth Parks, executive secretary of the West Virginia Library Commission, public library service in West Virginia has undergone a great change within the last fifteen years. Of all of Parks's accomplishments, perhaps the most significant has been her success in convincing state government officials of the necessity for improving public library service in their once-backward state. The result has been a substantial increase in appropriations for library development, both on a state and local level. Since most of the federal programs are based on the individual libraries, library systems, or library agencies paying a share of the cost of the new projects, West Virginia has been able to take considerable advantage of opportunities for federal subsidies. Since 1964, public libraries within West Virginia

have received a total of $2,398,945 in combined LSA, LSCA and ARC monies. The total included funds for eleven separate projects and two equipment grants. In Kanawha County alone, this has meant that the Kanawha County Public Library has been able to move into badly needed new quarters, an obsolete bookmobile was replaced with a new model, a second floor is currently being added to the St. Albans Public Library, and a new library has been built in South Charleston.

West Virginia has fifty-five counties, all having some form of public library service. Geographically, the state is divided into eleven areas for purposes of library service. Ten of them are served by regional libraries operating directly under the commission. The eleventh, predominantly in the southeastern section of the state and comprising nearly one-half of the total land area, is served by the commission's Book Express Bookmobile Service and by a number of public libraries within the region.

To facilitate better library service in West Virginia, they inaugurated a teletype network which currently links eleven academic and twelve public libraries in the state. When material is needed on an interlibrary loan basis, the request is first put on the network. If the material fails to turn up within the state, the request is then sent to libraries outside of the state.

Through funds made available under federal grants, West Virginia has been able to provide public library service to two previously neglected groups. Title IV A permitted the establishment of library service for patients in state mental institutions and for inmates of state correctional facilities. A good beginning has been made, but the lack of funds for additional staff salaries is holding back further development of the plan. One such development includes the badly needed expansion of library service to the state's hospitals for the chronically ill who presently receive only minimal service.

Under Title IV B, state library programs have been established for the blind and physically handicapped. In the past, both of these groups were dependent on mail service from either the Pittsburgh Regional Library or the Philadelphia Free Library. Now talking books and a variety of special equipment of benefit to handicapped readers are available through centers in Charleston, Huntington, Morgantown, Wheeling and Keyser.

Though it is only a start, special trainee grants made from federal funds have already had a noticeable impact on the quality of professional librarians employed in the state. To date, ten grants have been awarded, and four newly trained librarians have returned to West Vir-

ginia to work for a minimum of two years. Currently, one of these people is directing the commission's services to state institutions for the blind and physically handicapped; another is operating a similar program at the Kanawha County Public Library in Charleston; the third has become a full-time librarian in Kingwood; and the fourth is head librarian at the Clarksburg Public Library.

Library service in West Virginia has a long way to go but it has come a great distance in the last decade and a half.

KENTUCKY

The Appalachian area of eastern Kentucky is composed of thirty-two counties which encompass some incredibly beautiful scenery, a rather substantial number of coal mines which are rapidly being taken over by mechanization, a great deal of poverty and an amazingly small number of people. In all, there are only 639,400 people in the entire region. Anyone who has visited the area will find it easy to understand; someone who has not done so may be inclined to think the figure is a typographical error.

In 1945 only nine of the thirty-two counties—largely clustered together at the southern edge in the area where the states of Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia adjoin—had public library service. In the entire area, the only public library of any noticeable size was the Ashland Public Library in Boyd County with 10,770 volumes.[17]

The early WPA library projects did much to improve public library service in eastern Kentucky and the Library Services Act, along with succeeding legislation, did still more. Today, all of the counties within the region have some form of public library service. Most of it comes under the Regional Library Plan which Kentucky is gradually phasing out in favor of a system of merged libraries.

However, even with all of the work which has been done, public library service in eastern Kentucky is inadequate by any standards. This is by no means the fault of the hardworking librarians in the area.

Many federal grants to public libraries depend on the degree of financial initiative taken by the local library or by the county in which it is located. Since poverty is a major problem in eastern Kentucky, most people are concerned with the all-consuming occupation of keeping themselves alive. They often have no money for the necessities of life, much less additional money for taxation to support a public library. Most of these libraries must subsist on pitifully small budgets with little or none of the aid available to larger, more affluent systems. It is typical that the Big Sandy Region, serving Lawrence, Greenup,

Morgan, Wolfe, Lee, Estill, Owsley, and Johnson counties in the area, has received no ARC funds.

The new library buildings which have been provided are, in many cases, the only new public buildings in the entire county. Through assistance provided by the Kentucky State Department of Libraries, there is an ever-expanding, unusually high quality book collection for all of the libraries in the area and *the books are used!* With new books, new buildings, and a good interlibrary loan service, the use of library materials is doubling and tripling in the new buildings.

The main weakness in library service in the region lies with the staff —or more specifically, with the lack of it. Because there is not enough money to pay the needed salaries, especially on a professional level, the number of librarians is inadquate to provide the type of library service which all would like to give. In many instances, one person is the entire staff of a county library. With such conditions, only the bare essentials of service can be given, and such desperately needed programs as work with the disadvantaged or the functionally illiterate must necessarily be put aside until the staff can be provided.

Strides have been made, and it is earnestly hoped that the merger scheme, along with other plans for improvement, will result in much improved public library service over the next decade.

NORTH CAROLINA

With its long-time emphasis on education, one is not the least surprised to discover that North Carolina offers some of the best, most progressive public library services to be found in the Southern Appalachian area. Even in 1945, a time when a severe dearth of public libraries was evident in several parts of the region, twenty of North Carolina's twenty-four Appalachian counties had some form of public library service and six of the counties, all in the southwestern part of the state, were under the jurisdiction of two regional libraries. (The original regional libraries were Nanthahala, serving Cherokee, Clay, and Graham counties, and Fontana, providing library service to Macon, Swain, and Jackson counties.) Today, all of the Appalachian counties are served by public libraries; the original two regional systems have grown to four which lie wholly in the area, and a fifth serves one Appalachian county and several outside of the region. Plans are currently under way to merge several of the regional libraries into larger service units.

Perhaps because North Carolinians value schooling so much, they have been more willing than most to contribute local funds for library

purposes.[18] In addition, each county routinely receives $4,000 a year in basic state aid for library services. There is yet another way in which many North Carolina libraries receive financial aid from within the state. This is through what is called the "effort grant," a procedure in which a portion of financial aid to libraries is distributed on the basis of an index of effort, computed as the ratio of the total personal income of a county to its appropriations for library service. It is felt by some administrators that this procedure is not entirely fair to many of the rural counties since their educational and economic levels are lower than those found in more heavily populated areas and, because of this, they qualify for less aid while needing more of it.[19] The effort index is intended to overcome discrimination against poor counties and it is possible that the device does not work as planned. Personnel grants, which pay half of the salaries of certified professional librarians in the regional libraries and assure a minimum salary of $9,384 a year, do much to insure the quality of the personnel.

Partly because of this stress on the local area sharing the burden of support, public libraries in Appalachian North Carolina received a total of $866,193 in federal aid from Appalachian funds during the period 1965-1970. An additional $40,000 for use in Avery County has been requested, but not yet given approval, as of March 30, 1971.[20] Figures are not available on the amount these counties received from LSCA funds.

In part due to a lively state library program, many North Carolina public libraries offer vital, increasingly meaningful service to their patrons. Mary L. Barnett, librarian of the Morganton-Burke Library in Morganton, writes with great enthusiasm of circulating sculpture and reproductions of fine paintings, and sound filmstrips of children's books. Monthly film programs intended for teens and adults are shown during the winter. During the summer, viewers can watch color movies while eating their bag lunches in a newly air-conditioned building.[21] All of this, and much more, is accomplished with one professional librarian assisted by six full-time clericals in the winter and nine in the summer.

In the Nantahala Regional Library, in former Cherokee Indian territory, a new collection of primary and secondary sources of Cherokee Indian history is being established in the Murphy Library. All libraries within the state participate in an extensive interlibrary loan program, through this, via the IN-WATS phone service, they have access to toll-free telephone reference service through the state library. Patrons may obtain books, records and Xerox copies at a flat fee of twenty-five cents a package.

Though there are some comments about the inadequacy of quarters

and the need to replace outdated equipment, North Carolina librarians seem quite pleased with the state of affairs in their area. They would seem to have good reason to be.

TENNESSEE

In 1945 twenty-one of the thirty-seven Appalachian counties in Tennessee provided some form of public library service to their residents. Included in those counties was the single largest public library within the entire Southern Appalachian region: the Chattanooga Public Library with 221,141 books.[22] There were no regional libraries within the area at the time. Today, all counties in east Tennessee have public libraries, and all except the populous Knox (Knoxville) and Hamilton (Chattanooga) counties operate within the framework of regional systems.

In several respects, public library service in the area is noticeably different from that found in other parts of the Southern Appalachian region. In most other sections, a regional library consists of two or, more frequently, three counties banded together to provide library service for their citizens; in Tennessee, a public library region is composed of no fewer than six, and frequently as many as nine, counties forming a library service unit.

Tennessee public library development was greatly influenced by the Tennessee Valley Authority experimental program carried out in the early 1930s.[23] As a result, much use is made of small libraries—some of them hardly large enough to justify the title branch library—or stations in stores, banks, and similar places. This is most often the case in the least populated areas. It is a concept which has been largely abandoned in other parts of the region in favor of concentrated bookmobile service. The feeling, as expressed by Lucile Deaderick, director of the Public Library of Knoxville and Knox County, is that "bookmobile service is no substitute for even a small station or branch with a permanent collection of books regularly changed."[24] Bookmobiles are used, but not to the extent found in other parts of the region.

Unlike most places in Southern Appalachia, Knoxville finds itself facing the problems of the inner-city area. Considerable urban renewal work is being done in the community and, in a number of cases, the once acceptable patterns of library service have proved totally unsuitable for the emerging conditions. Thus far attempts at adapting public library service to the new needs of the community have proved to be highly successful.

A concerted effort is being made to improve state-wide interlibrary

loan service. The eventual goal, considered to be a rather long time in the future, is to have a union catalog in the state library in Nashville with the Memphis, Nashville, and Knoxville Public Libraries serving as centers for their respective areas of the state. However, technical information centers have long been in operation through which service is made available to the smaller counties surrounding the metropolitan areas. The service focuses mainly on providing answers to business and technical questions but in recent years has been expanded to include general research facilities for these counties. In east Tennessee, this work is carried on through libraries in Knoxville and Chattanooga.

Much stress is currently placed on getting adequate and, in many cases, new buildings for the public libraries of east Tennessee. Though complete figures are not available on the use of ARC and LSCA funds, in 1967/68, $23,955 in ARC assistance was used to help with the construction of the Edward Gauche Fisher Memorial Public Library in Athens, Tennessee (Fort Loudon Region); in the same year, the Sevier County Public Library in the Nolichucky Region received $26,510 in ARC funds toward the construction of a new library building. Recently (no year was given), an $18,000 ARC appropriation was made toward the construction of a new Franklin County Public Library building. A new main library building is currently being built in Knoxville with the aid of a combined LSCA/ARC appropriation of $604,000.[25]

Though public library service is developing at a substantial rate, there is feeling that it could move ahead faster if more money were available for professional salaries. In many instances, the lack of these funds is making it necessary to use people without library degrees, but the situation is being helped in some areas by voluntary inservice training sessions.

GEORGIA

Current information was not available to the author at the time the paper was being written. All counties within Appalachian Georgia do have some public library service.

ALABAMA

The Appalachian region of Alabama includes a total of thirty-five counties. In 1945 only twelve of them had any form of public library service, and only one regional library system existed within the area. In 1971 all thirty-five counties have some form of public library service, and thirteen of these are included in five regional systems. In many instances, public library service is limited to one inadequate building at-

tempting to serve the entire county without benefit of any form of extension service. While twenty of the counties report that their total populations have access to public library service, there remain 323,564 people within the area who are not within reach of a library.

Though state public library service officials are quick to point out the deficiencies in their program, they are equally eager to explain that they consider the most important single resource within the state to be its people, for without them, none of the other resources can be developed or amount to anything. In Alabama, stress is placed on improving the standard of living of the people, and public library officials feel that the best way to do this is through a system of new and improved public libraries.

Unlike other states in this study, the Alabama Public Library Service comes within the scope of a much larger agency—the Alabama Development Office. This facility also includes the Appalachian Regional Commission State Representative and is charged with coordinating programs for developing the state as a whole, in view of the funds available from both local and federal sources. While the chief function of the office is considered to be coordination, it does influence priorities. Because of this, after a beginning in which nine projects benefiting public libraries were undertaken with the aid of ARC/LSCA funds, there followed a period of time during which the agency turned its attention to non-library projects. This year, after several high priority projects failed to materialize, money is once again available for public library development.

Of all the states within the region under consideration, Alabama is the most highly industrialized. The area around Birmingham has long been known for its concentration of industry, and several counties in the northern and northwestern part of the state are rapidly becoming so. It is the announced intent of the state to attract as much industry as possible. Those considering establishing or moving a facility to a new area take a hard look at the social and cultural offerings before they move in. A good public library can make a considerable difference to whether an otherwise backward area is attractive to industrial growth.

In recent years, one of the most important factors in the development of public library service in Alabama has been the availability of financial aid through LSCA/ARC funding. It has made possible many projects which would have otherwise been out of the question because of a lack of money. According to figures released by the Alabama State Public Library Service, to date the combined aid from these sources has amounted to $1,963,558.[26]

Public library service in Alabama still has a long way to go. In the Appalachian region of the state alone, there are twenty library buildings which need to be replaced with adequate structures, and funds need to be found to pay for additional books and supplies. And some way must be found to finance the salaries of badly needed staff, on both professional and non-professional levels. Except for the first of these, which come under LSCA or ARC funding regulations, no federal aid is available for these things.

Twenty-five years ago, about one-half of the counties within the Southern Appalachian region had some form of public library service, and not many had what could be termed "good" library service. Today, with only a scattering of exceptions, the area has almost total coverage. In some instances, as state public library officials admit, this still means that the county is served either by a bookmobile coming in from another county or by one small collection of books housed in an inadequate building which has no means to extend its services beyond the bounds of the immediate community. However, situations like these are rapidly becoming obsolete. In an ever-increasing number of instances, public library service within the Southern Appalachian area is approaching, or equaling, that found in other, more affluent parts of the nation.

The need for public library service within the region has become recognized not only by hard-working local people but, essentially, by officials at the federal level of government. Due to the Library Services Act, its amended version, the Library Services and Construction Act, and aid from the Appalachian Regional Commission, funds have become available to improve public library service in a way which would not have been possible under the more traditional methods. The effectiveness of these programs has been proved by their extension beyond the original time designations.

Experimental programs, largely funded by the first two acts, have done much to convince even hardcore objectors that good public libraries are imperative not only to the growth of the people within the region, but also to the growth of the region itself. Industry seeking to expand or relocate will do neither in an area which does not provide its employees, or prospective employees, with educational, informational and cultural opportunities. Of these desired opportunities the public library is one of the most important in providing a community with an invaluable resource.

Much remains to be done. In parts of Southern Appalachia some

people are inclined to be reluctant to work with "outsiders" who come into the area to become involved or to direct programs. Perhaps the best progress is made when leaders come from within the area itself. Money must be found to educate local people to take over positions of responsibility. In other parts of the region, state laws, probably inadvertently, hamper the development of public library service by predetermining the purposes for which local taxes may be levied. In these instances the statutes must be changed to allow the people to impose upon themselves taxes for library purposes if that is their wish. A serious need exists for additional buildings and a way must be found to upgrade currently inadequate structures. Salaries, especially on a professional level, are another major problem. In some parts of Southern Appalachia, professional salaries are below the national level so qualified people prefer to work elsewhere. Some effective way must be found to deal with this situation.

Public library service within Appalachia is an emerging thing. It is growing steadily and has a tremendous potential for further growth.

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Bicultural and Bilingual Americans: A Need for Understanding

ROBERT P. HARO

RECENTLY IT HAS BECOME APPARENT that a condition of neglect, within the context of library and information services, exists in regard to Mexican and Spanish-speaking Americans. (The use of the term Mexican American in this article will include La Raza groups such as Hispanos, Latinos, Spanish Americans, Spanish-speaking, Spanish surnamed, etc. The term Chicano will not be employed as it so often carries ideological connotations.) The Mexican American has formed a small percentage of the library clientele in public, school, academic and specialized settings, and a minuscule element within the staffs of these libraries.[1] Many observers assume that Mexican Americans, especially those from lower economic strata, are traditionally non-readers and harbor little or no interest in libraries, particularly if their native tongue is Spanish. These two assumptions, that Mexican Americans do not read and that they have little or no interest in libraries, are untrue and considerably shortsighted. The conditions that create Mexican-American passivity toward libraries and that pull them away from the American mainstream are powerful forces that result from the failure of the dominant society to understand and appreciate their unique culture.

While the library world is just becoming aware of the growing Mexican-American movement, there are subtle forces at work within the dominant society seeking to ignore or dismiss the efforts of another ethnic group seeking identity, questioning traditional values, or worse yet, seeking legitimacy concerning the superiority of its culture. To better understand the library attitudes of Mexican Americans, it is imperative to present the differences between Mexican Americans and Anglos. To

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sharpen the distinctions, the differences between the values and attitudes of Juanito, a Mexican-American boy, and Johnny, an Anglo boy, will be compared.

The following concepts should serve as keys to this discussion: How is the Mexican American different, in a socio-cultural approach, from the Anglo? What conditions contribute to the integration or disintegration of the Mexican-American's personality? Why is the Mexican American unable to effectively function and participate in the libraries of the dominant society? What course(s) of action has (have) the dominant society and the Mexican American followed to alleviate or change these conditions? Not all of these questions will be answered in this article, but the reader should understand the interrelated nature of the concepts these questions seek to uncover.

A quick search through educational, sociological and psychological literature will reveal much research that holds certain crucial factors as constants in stereotyping the differences between Mexican Americans and Anglos. Unfortunately, many of these papers are the result of indiscriminate generalizations predicated upon limited research.[2] There are, however, some factors that, when taken collectively, can provide a proper frame of reference for discerning and understanding the basic socio-cultural differences between Anglos and Mexican Americans. Those which will be presented at this time are: aspiration, ascription, time orientation, cooperation, religion-fatalism, and family orientation. Because of their interactive nature, these factors may not lend themselves to separate discussion and will, therefore, necessarily require collective use in carefully identifying the differences between Anglo and Mexican-American behavior and attitudes.

Looking first at aspiration, there is a very real difference between the Mexican American and the Anglo in this regard. The dominant society tends to place a premium on high aspirations for the individual, and both the home life and school environment motivate the child's behavior to a high level of achievement and a quest for superiority. The Mexican-American culture, on the other hand, traditionally encourages its members to keep the group norm, no matter how high or low it may be, and always to adhere to the Mexican-American group's norm, even if it is lower than the Anglo's.[3] Within this framework, the role of the Mexican American is ascriptive in that the individual subordinates his personal behavior to the levels and the dicta of the group.[4] His Anglo counterpart, on the other hand, is quick to adopt a leadership role based upon competition and achievement and may even bolt a particu-

lar age group or intelligence level and thereby receive encouragement, praise and recognition from his peers, parents and educators.

Admittedly, and slightly in caricature, little Juanito, our typical Mexican-American child, may have the same potential and intelligence as Johnny, his Anglo counterpart. However, whereas Johnny will be encouraged by his parents to demonstrate his abilities and talents and perhaps seek achievement within his school work for rewards or relocation to a high achievement group, Juanito, equally talented, may seek a level of performance consistent with the average expectation of his peer group. Juanito's talents should be channeled into the elevation of the group norm to a higher position, rather than his searching for individual rewards that might force him to abandon his own kind and deny his birthright. Consequently, at an early age Juanito adopts an ascriptive value orientation that requires a level of aspiration based upon the group norm, whereas his counterpart, Johnny, is conditioned toward achievement and high personal aspirations.

As the Mexican American conditions his aspirations to the level of his group, he also regiments his behavior in regard to time orientation. The research literature in the social and behavioral sciences is replete with the assertions that the Mexican American is present-time or past-time oriented. Basically, Juanito's life is cyclically dominated (whether he is a rural or an urban dweller) by a pattern that resulted from the Mexican-American's dependence on farming and agriculture for an economic base. The vast majority of the Mexican-American labor force functions as itinerants in urban labor pools or as migrants following the cultivation and harvesting of numerous crops during all seasons of the year, particularly in the Southwest. As such, both the urban and rural laborers work for a landowner or corporation and share very little in the rewards of their labor.[5] As neither the final crops nor product of his work are his, he cannot orient his time to the future.

Even though the seasons have deep cultural and symbolic meaning based upon both superstitious and religious interpretations, they mean little to him other than a work cycle around which his life revolves. In essence, Juanito becomes task oriented with subsistence his sole goal; his life is centered around a predetermined course of actions that he cannot hurry nor significantly modify. He then becomes more concerned with what is happening to him this very day and, secondarily, what happened to him yesterday. Conditioned to accept tomorrow as the inevitable and something that he cannot control, even if he were capable of predicting it, he becomes present-time oriented.

Johnny's orientation is the opposite. In spite of his economic level, Johnny's orientation is much wider than Juanito's and his outlook is toward a better future over which he may have some elements of control. Why? As part of the industrial revolution, a value system has been developed within our society that places a great premium on high achievement and aspiration, and the postponement of gratification for a future date. For Johnny, wide-time orientation is a key orientation when it is coupled to a self-concept of improvement for future rewards.

The next comparison of concepts considers the socio-economic structure and value system of both the Mexican American and the Anglo. Here the differences are quite distinct and involve not only the work environment, but also differing concepts of the family. Johnny's life is caught up in a socio-economic structure and value system that is best described as a technocracy.[6] Success within such a society demands some form of technical preparation. Roles in a technocratic society are almost exclusively allocated to those with specialized technical preparation. If Johnny wants to be an information scientist, he must secure not only training in this area, but one or several academic degrees. Juanito, on the other hand, follows a pattern where relatively no technical preparation is needed for role allocation, whether it is in an unskilled rural agrarian economy or in a low or semi-skilled urban labor market, especially one in which on-the-job training and time in grade apprenticeships are the rule. The world Johnny must prepare himself for is a highly impersonal and technocratic one. Juanito, on the contrary, lives in a highly personalized social context where the primary organizational unit, the family, represents the totality of the organizational structure that is reinforced by and thrives, even on an extended basis, on immediate interpersonal contacts and exists on a day-to-day basis with little or no regard for the future.[7]

To achieve success within the technocratic society, a plan for survival is imperative. Therefore, competition is the key word. From an early age Johnny will be conditioned to compete with people in order to "get ahead" in school, at play, and eventually at work. Juanito, however, is taught from an early age to cooperate with other people for the betterment of all. As materialistic rewards are few and hard to come by for Juanito, particularly within a lower economic stratum, what little is secured must be shared with others within the immediate family and community, especially those no longer capable of acquiring these rewards—the old and the sick. Furthermore, for Juanito to compete with his peer group for what little might be available would allow for the

possible disproportionate accumulation of the few available material goods to the detriment of an already impoverished group.

The concept that competition fosters inventiveness and resourcefulness and allows a high level of control, which Johnny must learn to abide by and become proficient in, is legitimized and even fostered by many Anglo religions. Basically, most Protestant religions value work for work's sake, reasonable profit making, frugality, competition, and achievement. With the rise of the cult of science for the interpretation of nature and life, religion within the Anglo society takes a secondary place, and concepts such as magic and adherence to a strict religious dogma virtually disappear.

As Johnny prepares himself to play a technical role in society, he develops a cult of self-sufficiency with an orientation that stresses that he is master of his own destiny. Most Protestant religions do not necessarily seek to attack nor undermine this point of view, but rather seek to parallel it, at times attempting to sublimate some of the more aggressive and competitive-oriented tendencies.

Juanito has a different approach to religion, especially if he is from a lower economic level, which is based upon highly superstitious and fatalistic notions that—when coupled with his other cultural factors—contribute to a limited self-concept, reliance on the immediate family, dependency upon a superior order and a feeling of helplessness when dealing with strange or unknown conditions and institutions. While there are many quantified studies and statistical reports on the formal participation of Mexican Americans in organized religious groups, particularly within the Catholic Church, few qualitative and psycho-social analyses and interpretations have appeared.[8] Religion for Juanito may frequently take the role of an interpretive device in which church dogma and magical beliefs overshadow a reliance on reason or scientific interpretation for not only spiritual/emotional conditions, but physical phenomena. Juanito may not be an active churchgoer, but the temptation to rely upon religious teachings and interpretations will be highly compelling, particularly when rational scientific explanations offered by schools and other Anglo institutions may appear to undermine not only his religious/superstitious beliefs, but the very nature of his relationship and reliance upon the veracity and efficacy of his family and parental teachings.

Closely involved with religion in the Mexican/American mind is the concept of fatalism. Juanito, as the result of present-time orientation, low aspiration, low economic class level, and religious/superstitious

beliefs, may genuinely feel that he cannot control his life or destiny. This concept restricts Juanito's choices and too often contributes to an inertial drift through a life which is controlled by outside, and to him foreign, institutions that will monitor most, if not all, important events in his life and may even dictate the time and place of his death.

Johnny has no such conceptions about fatalism and subordination to a higher authority or spiritual order that will regulate and dictate his behavior and choices. Aspiration to a higher social or economic group is always available to Johnny, and the media constantly bombards even its most humble viewer/reader with the inveigling concept that America is the land of opportunity where through ambition and hard work one may succeed; Johnny may become a high school or college class president, a company or corporation president, or even the President of the United States. For Juanito, however, a sense of fatalism always notifies him that his ceiling is limited and any ambitions he may have to achieve any high post, such as a presidency, will be frustrated.[9]

It is on this note of frustration for the Mexican American that the author chooses to change the discussion from the abstract world of psycho-social analyses to the world of library and information services, not ignoring the very real differences between the Johnnies and the Juanitos, but fully cognizant of the tremendous hurdles that librarians and information scientists must overcome in order to plan and implement appropriate service programs for the Mexican-American communities. The derivation of library programs as they apply to the rural setting will not be directly presented in this piece, principally for two reasons: (1) 80 percent of Mexican Americans are urban dwellers, and (2) the greatest concentration of expertise and resources for social services to this minority group is in the urban areas.[10] What is important, however, is that a library service program to the Mexican-American community that does not take into account its differences in culture and attitudes will be destined to failure, whether in a rural or an urban setting. A bilingual library collection without a complementary service program founded on bicultural and bilingual needs will mean only that the librarian will secure the presently available materials in good Spanish. If this is all that is accomplished, Mexican-American library clientele will be only slightly less disregarded than they presently are. If what librarians desire is a bilingual and bicultural approach to servicing these communities, then they must address themselves to the contents of their collections and to services that reflect both biculturalism and bilingualism.

In the urban areas with large Mexican-American barrios, small but significant adaptations of library service have begun to take place in libraries and other information service centers. But before discussing these programs and projects, it is important to consider the methods employed by libraries as institutions in seeking to serve the Mexican Americans.

How did libraries, as service agencies, begin to deal with a minority group like the Mexican Americans? Initially, a bureaucratic approach grew and a complex set of procedures was developed, including models and a systematized vocabulary. Library administrators in their zeal to develop library programs for the Mexican Americans only succeeded in creating levels of diminishing contact between the dispensers and the recipients of library services.

Many librarians were quick to act, but were too hasty in their interpretation and understanding of barrio communities and their respective library and information needs. For this reason many Mexican Americans find themselves in need of service, but in order to obtain that service they are forced to conform to a set of highly structured and ritualistic procedures, frequently in an institutional setting quite foreign to them and through administrators who seem equally foreign and remote.

What in fact is needed by many of the barrio communities is essentially library or information functions that act as switchboards through which will flow pertinent information, interpretations and services. These functions require a considerable investment in manpower and economic resources on the part of libraries, as well as interested and concerned volunteers and laymen from the barrios. Unfortunately, what has temporarily resulted in the library picture is basically a technocratic approach to libraries, another form of fostering dependence upon institutions. What should occur, however, is the development of library and information service programs that pose an alternative to dependency. To do this librarians need to focus on the way traditional library-community relations have helped to perpetuate institutional dependency so that these relations may be avoided in the future.

On contemplating better programs to Mexican Americans, libraries should have secured and conducted their own dependable profiles (socio-economic) of the sprawling barrios and colonias and the concentrated poverty pockets within them. As a second step, the reading habits, information-seeking behavior and library attitudes of these communities, and especially of the pressure groups, should be carefully identi-

fied and researched. Administrators should discover ways to penetrate these communities with channels of communication that could be kept reasonably free of misinformation and irrelevancies. Furthermore, libraries need direct contact with local leaders and, once they have been identified, guidance on how to avoid the frictions with and between them. Even now library administrators are seeking persons with bilingual skills for appointment to staff positions as opposed to professional or administrative posts. The cry, "We just cannot find qualified Mexican-American librarians," is all too often a convenient excuse for inaction.

The typical library approach to the Mexican-American community is quite standard: a need is recognized and a call to action is made, the identification of bibliographies is initiated, Spanish-language materials are ordered, new decor is added to attract the community, a search is made for bilingual library staff, and a search is made for outside funding. In large metropolitan areas where there may be two or more library systems, a form of competition invariably develops as the various systems compete for the same limited number of potential staff members and librarians. In these areas there often exist duplications of library collections and services, and all systems surprisingly concentrate on highly particular definitions of the community which usually exclude the Mexican American. To each system, the Mexican-American community in a county or metropolitan area continues to appear as an undifferentiated demographic group resistant to library services. The author suspects that librarians want people to be dependent on the libraries, not libraries to be dependent on people.

The library services usually offered to the disadvantaged, and most of all to the Mexican Americans, are a traditional fare. The programs and services devised and presented on their behalf are inevitably patterned on traditional library practice. They are for indirect and collective services and require an immediate extension of the library's bureaucracy. Decision-making power is seldom if ever extended to the community. The derivation of policy is pyramided and funds for procedural and administrative purposes have priority. Originality and innovation in planning new programs and services break down somewhere between the conceptual stage and what is viewed as the stirring resentment or passivity of the Mexican-American community. Librarians often act (better yet react) on the principal of pressure and fear of deficiencies, the coercion from political forces to balance library services to all segments of the community, and, to a lesser degree, a competition for available federal funds.

From what have been mostly unfortunate experiences and conditions have emerged a small but growing body of knowledge and a genuine understanding of the Mexican American's culture and, as a result, what libraries and librarians can do to serve better this minority group. In various geographical areas creative library service projects have been attempted, not as isolated and temporary models subject to termination by budgetary crises, but as genuine efforts to bring those who have succumbed to the culture of poverty and despair out of that state by providing them more than a welfare subsistence type of library services.

Three carefully designed library projects for the Mexican Americans that have been effective and useful will be presented: the Model Cities Library in Albuquerque, New Mexico; the efforts of the Tucson Public Library; and the community aides program of the Los Angeles Public Library. Each project or effort offers an intriguing new set of ideas to better reach and service the Mexican Americans through understanding their attitudes and values and appreciating their culture. The rise of the Mexican-American movement with corresponding talk about pride in its cultural heritage is a powerful factor that librarians have seen and, as a result of the aforementioned projects, should understand and perhaps utilize in planning library service programs, particularly in the urban areas with impacted conditions of poverty and racial segregation.

Looking first at the Model Cities Library in Albuquerque, it is interesting to note that it serves not only the Mexican Americans,* who comprise some 70 percent of the model cities community, but also American Indians, a developing black population, and a poor white segment. Relying upon the results of the extensive socio-economic survey and study of the model cities area, the city librarian set himself to the task of servicing what had been a library non-user group.[11] He first sought to understand the community by developing close and personal contacts with community leaders and workers, appropriate model cities staff and outside experts. Maintaining this close relationship, the city librarian began to devise the concepts of a storefront library that could easily be expanded and modified to suit community needs. The following quotation may have been what motivated the librarian to first employ the storefront concept:

The storefront is an amphitheater where the lives of children occur. The

* Even though the localism Spanish Americans, and to a lesser degree the term Hispanos, is used more often in Albuquerque with regard to this minority group, the term Mexican American will still be used by this author to avoid confusion.

> space must be moveable, simple, empty, filled with color, and easy to transform from one thing to another: walls will be repainted, scribbled on, hung with banners, and photographs. Ceilings are places to tack colored plates and to hang balloons and mobiles.[12]

Rented quarters in an old store were secured and the nucleus of a new "relevant collection of materials" purchased and made available. The library environment was kept simple to maintain a friendly and informal attitude conducive to highly impromptu and casual encounters.

To complement the informal library environment, the staff was carefully selected both to represent the community and to identify with them. The initial staff included only one Anglo librarian who was quite sensitive to the needs of the community and served mainly as an interim organizer and liaison between the Model Cities Library and the city library. The actual operations of the library, including all of its public contacts, were carried out by a bilingual staff. An intensive advertisement campaign was mounted, ranging from a sophisticated use of the media to the practical door-to-door visits in the model cities area. While the initial success of the Model Cities Library can be termed excellent, its continuing and expanding appeal to the community can only be described as stupendous.

What does the library do, and how does it appeal to its patrons? First, to attract children, games, toys and even pets were part of the library program. Children were encouraged to visit the library, first in groups and later individually. Noise was encouraged. The decor was bright, fresh and informal with numerous posters, play areas and eventually objects of the patrons' own liking—such as colorful rocks, plants, miscellaneous bits of scrap metal, etc. The library became a warm and inviting area with great freedom available to the children and a setting that they could control and even modify to suit their needs. The staff encouraged the use of records and films and even secured a color television set that was complemented by the purchase of a large overstuffed sofa and chair to replicate the casual home environment and draw upon the strong familial relationship germane to these children. Certain "gimmicks" also enticed children as well as adults, not the least of which was the procurement of several Polaroid cameras that could be circulated for home use. The rather off-beat attitude of the library staff, including its close relationship to other elements within the model cities program, could not have been possible without the sensitive and dedicated attitude of the city librarian.

Tucson approaches service to the Mexican Americans from a differ-

ent perspective, administratively and organizationally. As a first step in understanding the barrio community and winning their confidence, the city librarian of Tucson hired a Mexican American at an upper level administrative position (hereafter referred to as the administrative assistant). Although this individual does not possess a library degree, instead holding a masters in public administration, he is known and trusted by the community, is talented, service oriented, and interested in how libraries and Mexican Americans can be synergistically joined.[13] This individual's role was to serve as a window on the Mexican-American community whereby the city of Tucson could begin to better view, understand and plan appropriate services. The window soon became a two-way vista as the community learned how it could relate with the key decision-makers in the upper levels of the library's organizational structure.

Two representative examples of library service for the Mexican Americans in Tucson should suffice for this discussion. First, the administrative assistant determined the geographical area which contained the highest concentration of Mexican Americans and which would also contain as great or an even greater concentration within the next ten years.[14] It was in this geographical area that a new branch library, specifically tailored to the community's unique needs, was planned by the public library. In the planning formulation stages, the administrative assistant involved the traditional library administrators and consultants, but also insisted upon involving and relying on inputs from community leaders, and all concerned individuals and groups. Through effective advertisement and the encouragement to contribute, numerous barrio groups and individuals generously contributed their time, thoughts and talents in planning the Valencia Branch. Not only was the architecture of the building open to public review and control, but the composition of the collection and the service programs also were deliberated and established in this process. Based upon this community participation, involvement and group decision-making, the Valencia Branch of the Tucson Public Library has been identified as "its library" by the Mexican-American community. It is a family affair, a social and educational experience, and a source of great pleasure for the Mexican-American community in South Tucson, not to mention its serving as a great point of pride to these people.

The second form of library service the administrative assistant in Tucson dealt with involves the role of a library as an experimenter, creating a ready market for a business venture while servicing public

needs. Tucson, like many American cities, is involved in urban renewal and the rejuvenation of the city's downtown area. As a result of this process, several older buildings, including a movie theater, were demolished. The movie theater in question had been the only one responsible for showing Spanish-language films. After its destruction, none of the other theaters in the greater Tucson area would run Spanish-language films, claiming lack of interest in such films and other economic problems with the target community. Several spokesmen from the Mexican-American community discussed the problem with the library's administrative assistant. Believing that there was a ready market for these films, the Tucson Public Library secured Spanish-language feature length films and initiated a program to show them on a regular basis. To publicize this, the administrative assistant contacted the city's water department and made arrangements to have advertisement brochures (both in English and Spanish) automatically stuffed into the water bill notices that were mailed to parts of the city with the heaviest concentration of Mexican Americans. This, plus other forms of advertisement, soon resulted in overflow crowds attending the film presentations. After a few months of this program's successful operation, one and then a second commercial movie theater began showing Spanish-language films on a regular basis. Noteworthy in this situation is the library, particularly the liaison role of the administrative assistant, listening to the community and devising a service to meet its needs, as well as demonstrating to private enterprise the existence of an overlooked market.

While Albuquerque and Tucson have established new and interesting concepts of library service, the Los Angeles Public Library has mounted a campaign to communicate with and inform its Mexican-American community about libraries and their services.[15] Under a federally subsidized project, the public library has employed about twenty community aides to serve as liaison agents between the established branch libraries and their respective neighborhoods. Basically, these community aides are non-librarians recruited to function as library extension workers in the Mexican-American neighborhoods served by the Los Angeles Public Library. In this capacity they function as library staff members who must establish firm and continuing relations with individuals and groups located in the service area of a particular branch library, not by remaining in the building, but by venturing into the neighborhoods and dealing with them on a personal and direct basis.

To encourage acceptance and reliance upon the community aides, they have been recruited, where possible, from neighborhoods in which

they will work. Men and women, as well as college students, are encouraged to work in this capacity. Bilingual ability is considered a prime requisite for a community aide because so many of the public encounters, especially in the homes, will be carried on in Spanish. Once employed, the aides are trained by the library system in basic library procedures and practices and continue this with an on-the-job form of training administered jointly by the main library and in their respective branch libraries. Most of the training these people receive concerns how the library system functions and what it can do for people. The aides are responsible for reaching out into the community as a vital link between the library and the public.

The overall effect of the Community Aides Program of the Los Angeles Public Library is the development of a strong and continuing dialogue between the Mexican-American community and the library while constantly expanding and modifying library services in response to the unique needs of these people. The aides communicate what the library system is and can do and also receive valuable feedback from the community on what it wants and needs, including the identification of problem areas. This program serves as a softening device that addresses the problems of passivity and mistrust Mexican Americans harbor toward libraries as remote and foreign institutions. Even though the program is relatively new and in an experimental stage, and therefore not subject to precise measurement and evaluation, empirical methods and conversations with barrio people indicate it will be a success.

From these three library experiences and an undetermined number of similar conditions, have emerged a growing body of knowledge and an awareness of the Mexican American's culture and what libraries and librarians can do to better serve this minority. Both librarians and Mexican Americans are beginning to learn their lessons. The ingrained habit of libraries developing their own service programs without cooperation from the community has begun to erode and the library profession has moved closer to systematic and stable forms of community involvement and cooperation. Seriously considered for the first time are ideas that libraries are capable of democratic control that might reduce, or perhaps eliminate, dependency. The development of a continuing dialogue and open participation to all in the formative and review stages of library services has a dim connotation of community control. The right of representation and a voice in library matters can be vaguely but vitally connected with the allied concepts of educational

and economic opportunity. The threshold of practical library applications, based upon an understanding of Mexican-American attitudes and values, has been crossed, and the realization that the problems confronting this minority group in its quest for library and information services can be resolved promises a better tomorrow.

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7. Moore, Joan W. *Mexican Americans* (Ethnic Groups in American Life Series). Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 104.

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Library Service to Black Americans

CASPER LEROY JORDAN

A CONSIDERABLE SEGMENT of Americans are considered "culturally disadvantaged," since they have inadequate educational, economic, or other types of opportunities. To adequately serve this important segment of our citizens, librarians should be familiar with research studies on the disadvantaged. Currently the term "culturally disadvantaged" is used to describe those Americans who belong to subcultures which are different from and generally less advanced than the dominant culture. The term has also been used to refer to all those Americans who belong to the lower socio-economic group and who are disadvantaged in the sense that they have fewer opportunities than the average American. Bloom, *et al.*, define the culturally disadvantaged as one-third of the high school entrants who do not complete their secondary education, including both natives of America's urban and rural areas and "in-migrants" from Puerto Rico, Mexico, and the rural South.[1] Johnson suggests five types of American citizens as being disadvantaged and in need of services: the young—particularly the school dropouts under twenty-one years of age; the old—people over sixty-five; the people who are functionally illiterate and who may be anywhere along the age spectrum; the "new immigrants" who move from rural areas and small towns into urban areas; and the Negroes, who make up the majority in each of the other four groups.[2]

These groups are not, of course, mutually exclusive. They represent useful ways of looking at some of the common attributes of large numbers of people in terms of their motives, backgrounds, habits, and hopes or fears for the future.

What is the nature of the library's responsibility toward the culturally deprived? This is a question that demands both an intellectual response and emotional involvement, but the very terminology used in

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approaching this question may create problems of understanding. One may have misgivings about the ready use of a vocabulary, including such terms as "culturally deprived" and "disadvantaged." Frank Riessman has indicated that the culture of poverty may contain assets as well as handicaps,[3] and Kenneth Clark has warned against an apparent solicitude for the "disadvantaged" which actually cloaks a patronizing attitude.[4]

In *Dark Ghetto,* Clark condemns the stereotyped thinking that too often is expressed regarding such labels as "culturally deprived."[5] A sense of reality is needed to solve problems that are bitterly real, and a vision that concentrates exclusively on the negative aspects of the disadvantaged leads to defeat. Riessman's *The Culturally Deprived Child*[3] reminds one that there may be much of worth in the disadvantaged person's experience and environment. Awareness of this worth and potential may ward off a holier-than-thou attitude that desires "salvation" for the culturally impoverished individual and at the same time creates a feeling of blind contempt for everything about his environment and culture. In this rejection of the environment and values, is there not also a danger of rejecting the individual?

Who are the disadvantaged? Although it would be impossible to determine the exact proportion of Americans who are culturally disadvantaged, one can get some idea by observing the figures on income and education, since both poverty and limited education are associated with cultural disadvantage. A report issued by the Conference on Economic Progress indicates the following:

> In 1960 more than 77 million Americans, or more than two-fifths of a nation, lived in poverty or deprivation.
>
> In poverty were almost 10½ million multiple-person families with annual incomes under $4,000, and almost 4 million unattached individuals with annual incomes under $2,000—approximately 38 million Americans or more than one-fifth of a nation.
>
> In deprivation, above poverty but short of minimum requirements for a modestly comfortable level of living, there were almost 10⅓ million families with incomes from $4,000 to just under $6,000, and more than 2 million unattached individuals with incomes from $2,000 to just under $3,000—more than 39 million Americans, or also more than one-fifth of a nation.[6]

In 1960 out of over 99 million persons of 25 years old and over, more than eight million adults had completed less than five years of schooling; more than 13 million had completed five to seven years; and more than 17 million had completed eight years. To state it another way, in 1960 about 40 percent of American adults had only eight years of edu-

cation or less.[7] In 1963, 15.5 million heads of American families (or one-third of the total) had completed only eight years or less of education.[8] There probably have not been any significant changes in 1971.

The number of disadvantaged is constantly increasing in large cities. According to the report issued by the Educational Policies Commission, there has been a "large-scale migration" of the disadvantaged rural population from the "agrarian South, Southwest and Puerto Rico" to large urban centers of the United States.[9] Riessman, in discussing the fact that the proportion of large-city children who are deprived is constantly increasing, stated: "In 1950, approximately one child out of every ten in the fourteen largest cities of the United States was 'culturally deprived.' *By 1960, this figure had risen to one in three.*... By 1970, it is estimated there may be one deprived child for every two enrolled in schools in these larger cities."[10]

There is some correlation between cultural disadvantage and race. Riessman states, "A large portion of the current disadvantaged population is composed of cultural and racial minorities."[11] Benjamin McKendall posits that cultural disadvantage is primarily a Negro problem: "In the South, and in most urban areas of the North, cultural disadvantage is primarily a Negro problem. Other groups—Mexican-Americans along the border states and in California; Puerto Ricans in New York; the American Indian in the Southwest; the indigent white of Appalachia and the rural South—also have been adversely affected by these forces, but the American Negro is more visible, and, with the thrust of the civil rights movement, more vocal."[12]

The black American revolution is rightly regarded as the most important domestic event of the postwar period in the United States. Nothing like it has occurred since the upheavals of the 1930s which led to the organization of the great trade unions, and which profoundly changed both the economical and political scene in America. There have been few other events in our history—the American Revolution itself, the surge of Jacksonian Democracy in the 1830s, the anti-slavery movement, and the Populist movement of the late nineteenth century—comparable to the current interest in the black experience.

There has been none more important. The black revolution holds forth the prospect that the American Republic, which at birth was flawed by the institution of black slavery and which throughout its history has been marred by unequal treatment of its black citizens, will at last redeem the full promise of the Declaration of Independence.

The major events of the onset of the black revolution are now behind

us. There were three political events: the Negroes themselves organized as a mass movement; the Kennedy-Johnson administrations committed the federal government to the cause of black equality; and the 1964 presidential election was practically a referendum on this commitment. Similarly the administrative events were threefold: beginning with the establishment of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and the enactment of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the federal government launched a major national effort to redress the great imbalance between the economic position of the Negro citizens and the rest of the nation; the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 began a major onslaught on poverty, a condition in which almost the majority of black families are living; and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and subsequent voting acts marked the end of the era of legal and formal discrimination against Negroes and created important new machinery for combating covert discrimination and unequal treatment. The legal events were no less specific. Beginning with *Brown* vs *Board of Education* in 1954, through the decade that culminated in the recent decisions upholding the Civil Rights Act, the federal courts, led by the Supreme Court, have used every opportunity to combat unequal treatment of black people.

The principal challenge of the next phase of the black revolution is to make sure that equality of results now will follow. If they do not, there are few prospects for social peace in the United States for generations. The time is at hand for an unflinching look at the present potential of black Americans to move from where they are now to where they want and ought to be.

There is no satisfactory way, at present, to measure social health or social psychology within an ethnic, religious or geographical community. Data are few and inconclusive, and conclusions drawn from them are subject to the grossest error. It has to be stated that there is a considerable body of evidence to support the conclusion that Negro social structure, harassed by discrimination and battered by injustice and uprooting, is in the deepest trouble. While many young blacks are moving ahead to unprecedented levels of achievement, many more are falling further and further behind.

After an intensive study of the life of central Harlem, the board of directors of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, summed up their findings in one statement: "Massive deterioration of the fabric of society and its institutions is indicated by . . . this study."[13] It is the conclusion of this survey of the available national data that what is true of

central Harlem can be said to be true of the black American world in general. If this is so, it is the single most important social fact of the United States today.

It might be estimated that as much as half of the black community falls into the middle class. However, the remaining half is in desperate and deteriorating circumstances. Because of housing patterns it is immensely difficult for the stable half to escape from the cultural influences of the unstable half. The children of middle class Negroes often as not must grow up in or next to the slums, an experience almost unknown to white middle class children. They are therefore constantly exposed to the pathology of the disturbed group and constantly in danger of being drawn into it. In a word, most black youths are in danger of being caught up in a tangle of pathology that affects their world, and probably a majority are so entrapped.

Three centuries of injustice have brought about deep-seated structural distortions in the life of the black American. At present, the tangle of social pathology is capable of perpetuating itself without assistance from the white world. The cycle can be broken only if these distortions are set right.

Library service of a relevant nature may be one means of setting these distortions straight and assisting in untangling the social pathology. Until roughly 1950, the shape, the form, the size, and the political and economical organization of all but the largest cities were highly conducive to social, political, and economic mobility. The political parties in the old central cities were the political bases of the nation. The public library and other cultural institutions were local and in the central city, and accessible because they were local and central. In these institutions people partook of the dominant middle class culture, learned its values and norms, and entered the mainstream. The institutions of economic activity—the factories, banks, mercantile establishments—were also in the central cities and accessible to all. Until 1950, the physical scale of the city allowed the easy, unplanned access of everyone to everything.

About twenty years ago—at different times in different places—the scales tipped and differentiation happened. The change was swift and drastic. It occurred in the wake of the wholesale migration to the cities and explosive population trends following World War II.

Like most migrants before him, the new urban migrant of recent decades was poor—that is why he came to the city. He was the product of a different culture. He was a descendent of slaves and visible, as none

before him, by his black skin. For all these reasons, and uniquely for the latter, he was to find entry into the mainstream difficult and frequently impossible.

The rapid dispersion of the white urban population has been joined by parallel dispersions of mercantile establishments, and most importantly, of high quality urban services, especially schools. The new migrants became numerous enough to have their own schools in the traditional pattern of neighborhood facilities, their own mercantile establishments and service institutions, not in ethnic ownership, but in the sense of neighborhood location. The color line held on most jobs, and only began to give way in the late 1960s. The color bar also operated in the urban housing market which psychologically and physically bound all Negroes to the urban ghettos.

The dispersion of whites and the ghettoization of blacks reinforce a century-old habit of non-contact, non-communication, and non-awareness between the races. This has produced the Ellison "invisible man" syndrome.[14]

Gradually our central cities are becoming isolated, walled-off ghettos of uniformly restricted opportunity for a significant portion of our population. An unfortunate atmosphere is created—an atmosphere of fear, suspicion, antagonism, frustration, misunderstanding and mutual ignorance of life styles and aspirational values.

No longer can we discuss the problems of the central city without making the central theme the consequences of ghettoization of blacks. We cannot discuss these problems without paying close attention to the phenomena of white dispersion and black containment. We cannot discuss serving the unserved in our central cities without focusing on the black community and its complex requirements, because the central city of the future, unless drastic changes occur, will be black in its voting majority, in its politics and political decision-making apparatus, in the fabric of its neighborhood society, and in the clientele of its public (and some private) institutions.[15]

Hyman Bookbinder suggests that American libraries do not hold the answer to poverty in America, and neither does the educational system by itself hold the answer to poverty, nor housing or urban renewal. "The answer is that all of them together constitute the answer to poverty, because poverty is both the result of many social factors and forces and the cause of many social problems and new social causes. Unless we work on all of them, that vicious cycle of poverty cannot be interrupted."[16]

The civil rights movement has focused much attention on the functionally illiterate. How can libraries reach these people—a great many of whom are black—with their present programs? John Berry quotes James Farmer's suggestion that libraries must develop new techniques and materials; the use of newly trained readers to teach other illiterates; and the recruitment of high school dropouts as library aides in culturally deprived areas.[17]

Eric Moon feels that the federal government should give thought to establishing a free book program for the needy in the same spirit as the school lunch program; Hubert Humphrey concurs in this idea.[18] Moon also feels that librarians in the culturally deprived areas can learn much from the experiences of Peace Corp volunteers, UNESCO workers, and AID personnel about working with the poor and the semi-literate.[19]

"The white institutions of the central city (prominent among which are the public libraries) that aspire to serve central city clientele [blacks] must adopt organizational behavior patterns similar to any organization that wants to attract a new clientele."[20] Libraries must have the staff who know, or learn to appreciate and respect, the values and aspirations of the community of which their clientele is a part. Libraries must respond to the values and aspirations of the community in the form of concrete programs and services. Libraries and librarians have always been sensitive to a great degree to the demands of white middle class America, but white librarians are not and never will be as sensitive to the black community's demands precisely because they are not a part of that community. "Serving the heterogeneous black community of the central city cannot be according to traditional white norms, traditional white habits, and traditional white objectives."[20]

The most relevant role librarians can play in serving black Americans is that of helping them develop the ability to help themselves. Kenneth Clark believes that blacks "themselves must eventually be the instruments through which change in their predicament is brought about.... These people must be taken seriously. They must be respected for their humanity and for their creative potentials."[21] He further states that "librarians themselves may have to demonstrate to those public schools who will not listen that, in spite of educators' explanations for why these children cannot be taught to read, when they are accepted, when they are approached as human beings and not as poor underprivileged or Negro children, they not only can learn but, like other human beings who are exposed to acceptance, they too can learn to love and to cher-

ish, and probably some day even to write, books."[22] Clark continues and offers the example of Arthur Schomburg and the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library as an instance of the role that a relevant library program played in a crucial period of his life.

A sense of future dictates to Conant that the central city institutions which come within the purview and influence of local government will become what the political leadership of the majority want them to be.[20] The black unserved masses of the present-day will be served as they wish to be served within a few years after their voting strengths produce local political leadership from within their ranks. Black political leaders of the future will aggressively reorient libraries toward black history, culture, art, and politics in the interests of reestablishing a black identity, self-esteem, and new tradition. Whites cannot help in this future effort and blacks know it, even if whites do not. Black mayors and black library administrators will be less interested in the participation of city-supported libraries in a metropolitan library system. Prestige library institutions of the future, with sophisticated research collections, should now begin to capture the interest of their "new bosses" by offering programs with inner-city purposes. Library schools should look to new curricular offerings in line with institutional changes in metropolitan library developments. Librarians must change.

Unquestionably blacks need help. They need help to develop and to grow to their full potential as human beings. They need help in developing those skills which are essential for providing a realistic basis for pride and self-respect. Blacks can be given the help and encouragement to help themselves only by those who have sufficient self-respect to respect them. One of the most important roles which libraries can play in a relevant context is to provide for blacks that human acceptance, unqualified by their present racial and economic status.

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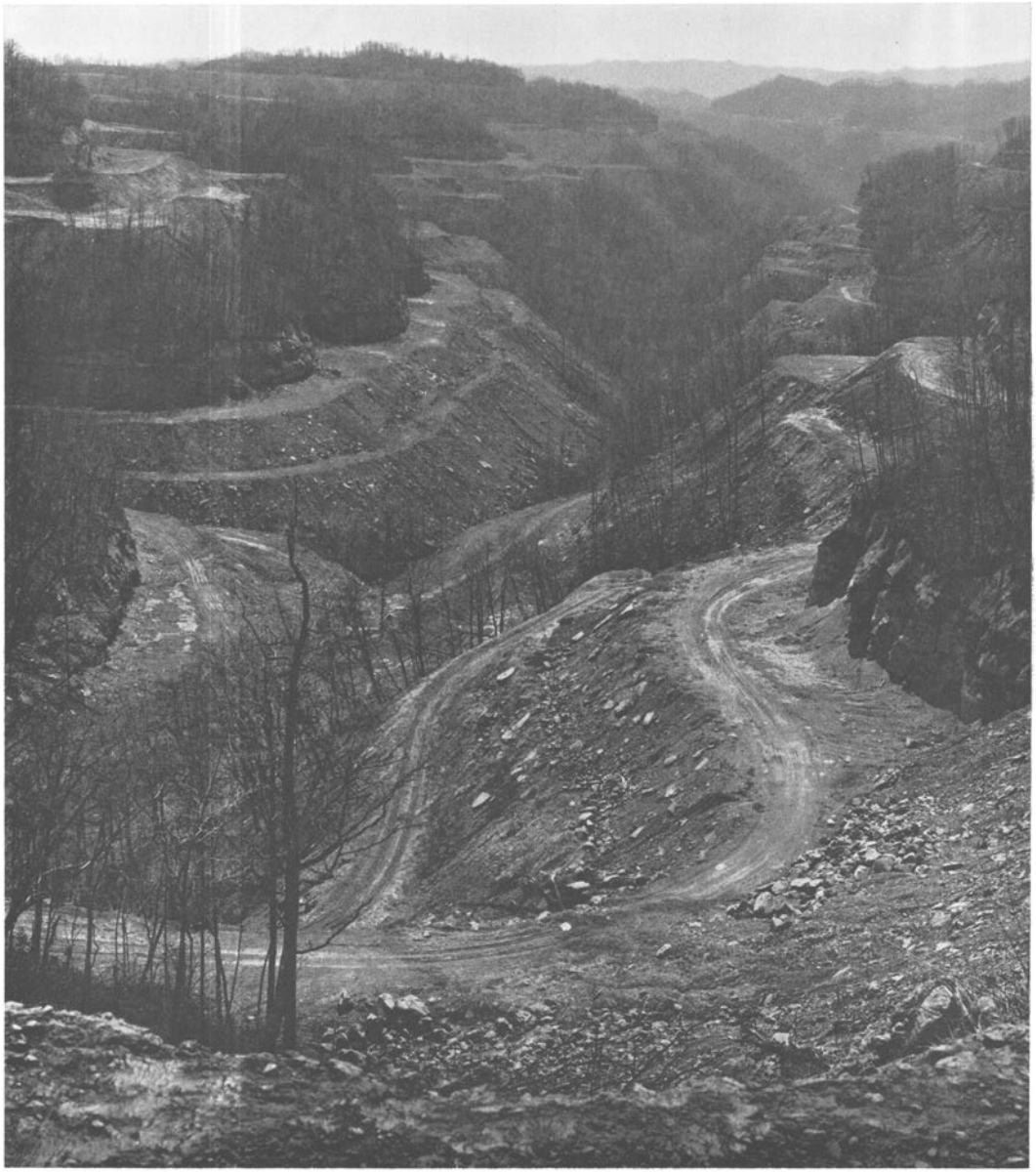
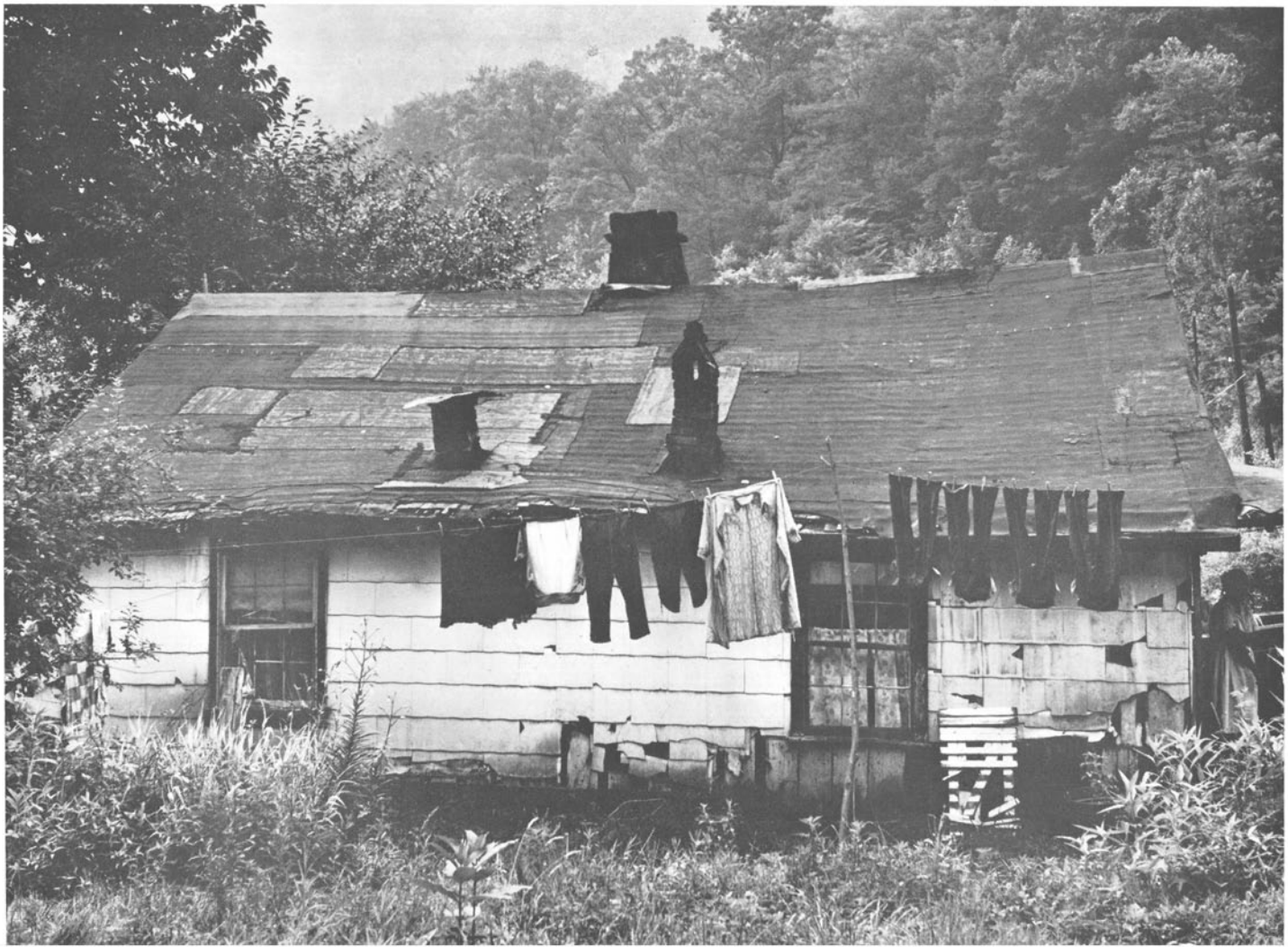
Appalachia

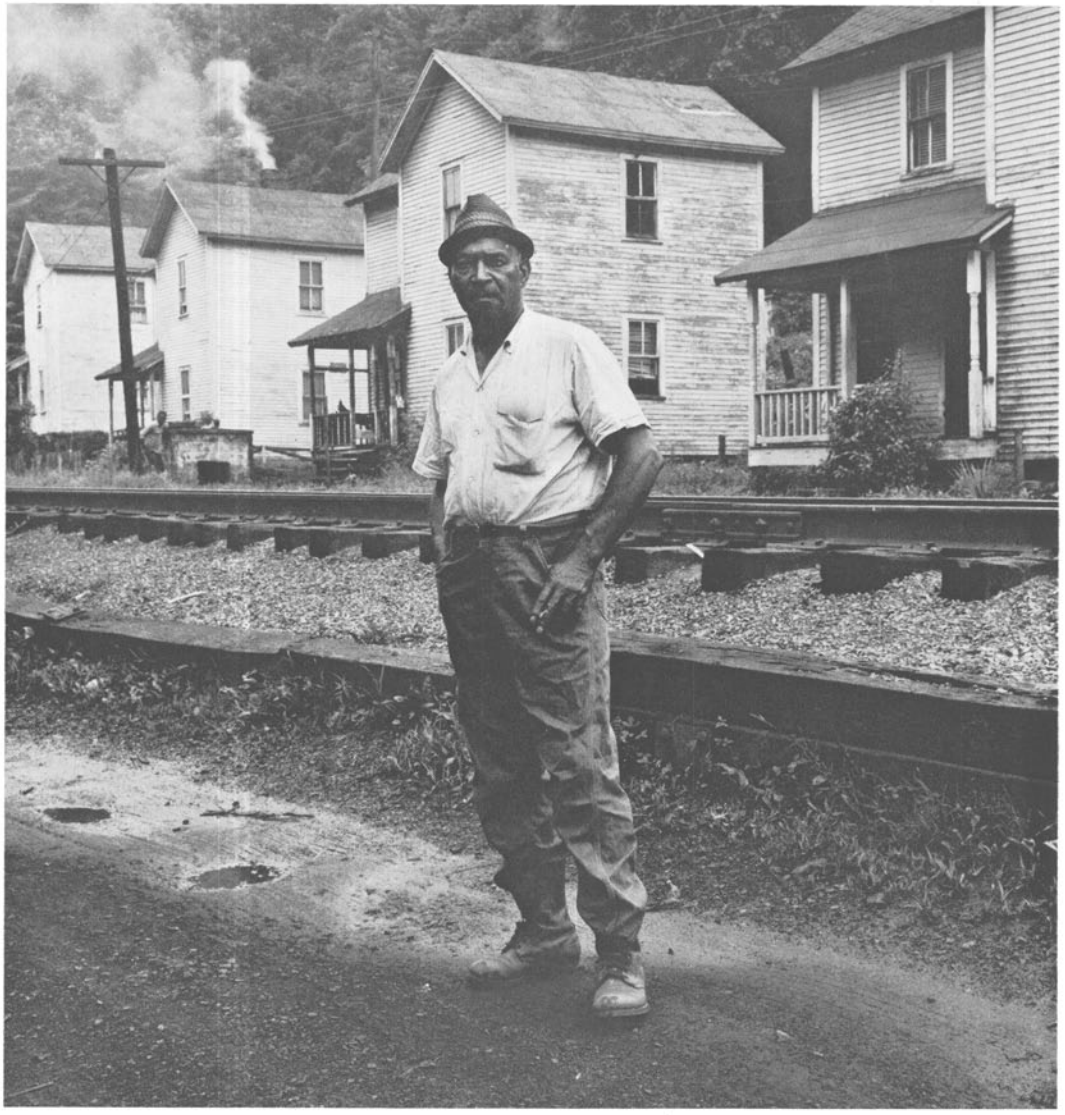
MILTON ROGOVIN

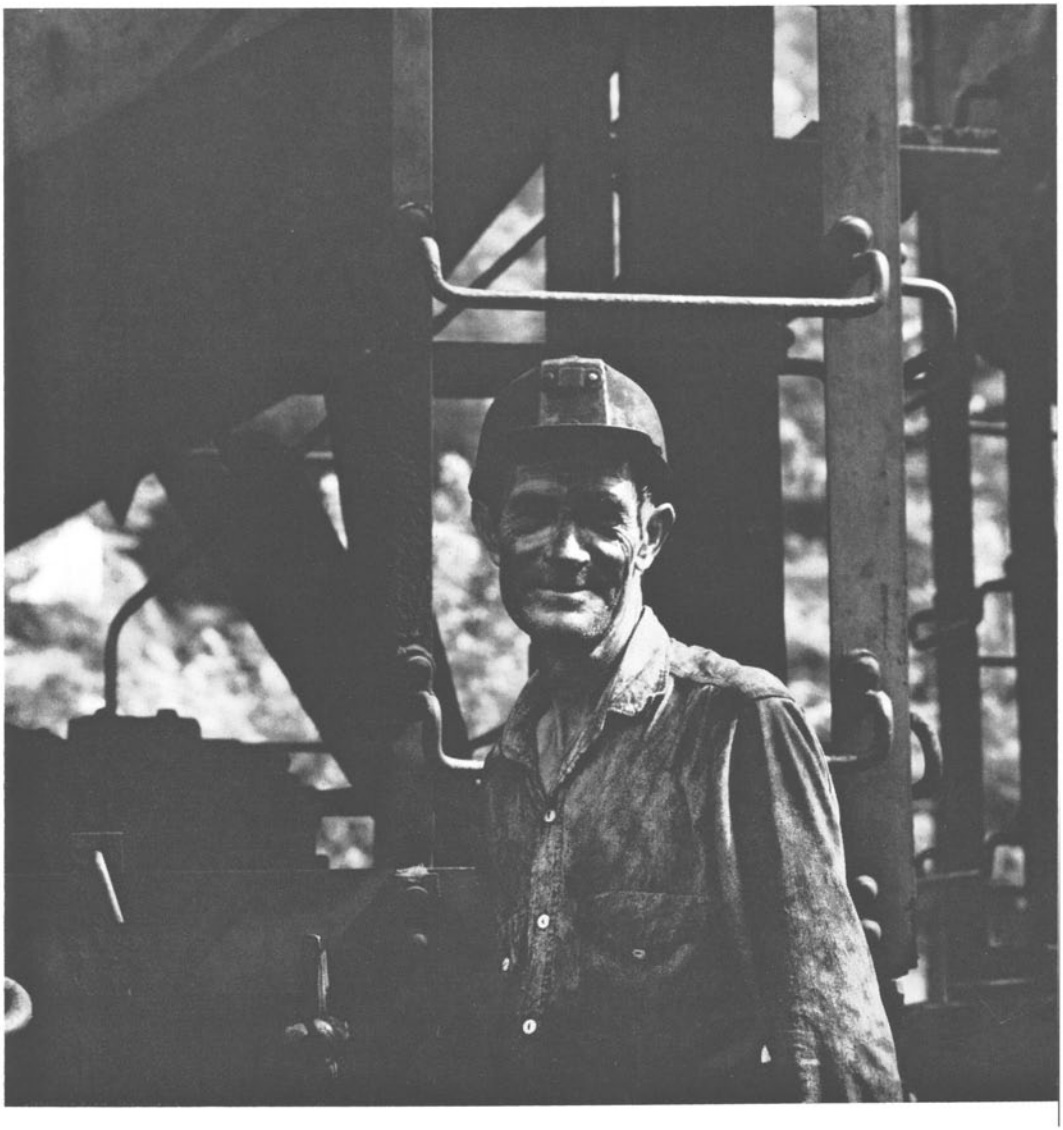
These photographs were taken in the West Virginia hollows where many poor and forgotten people of Appalachia live. They reveal a strong and sturdy people and add another dimension to this issue in an other-than-print medium.

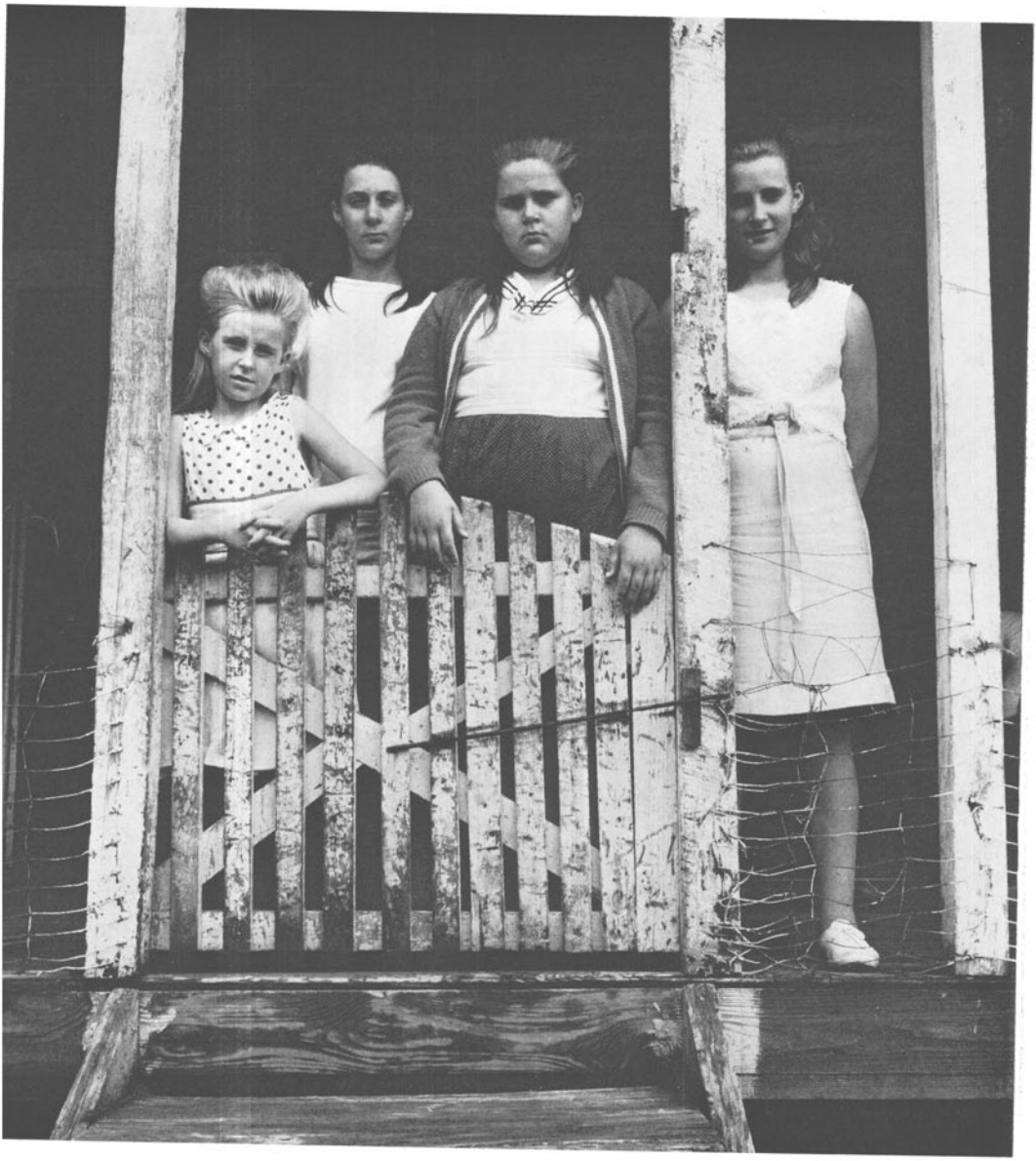
Milton Rogovin is an optometrist and photographer in Buffalo, New York.

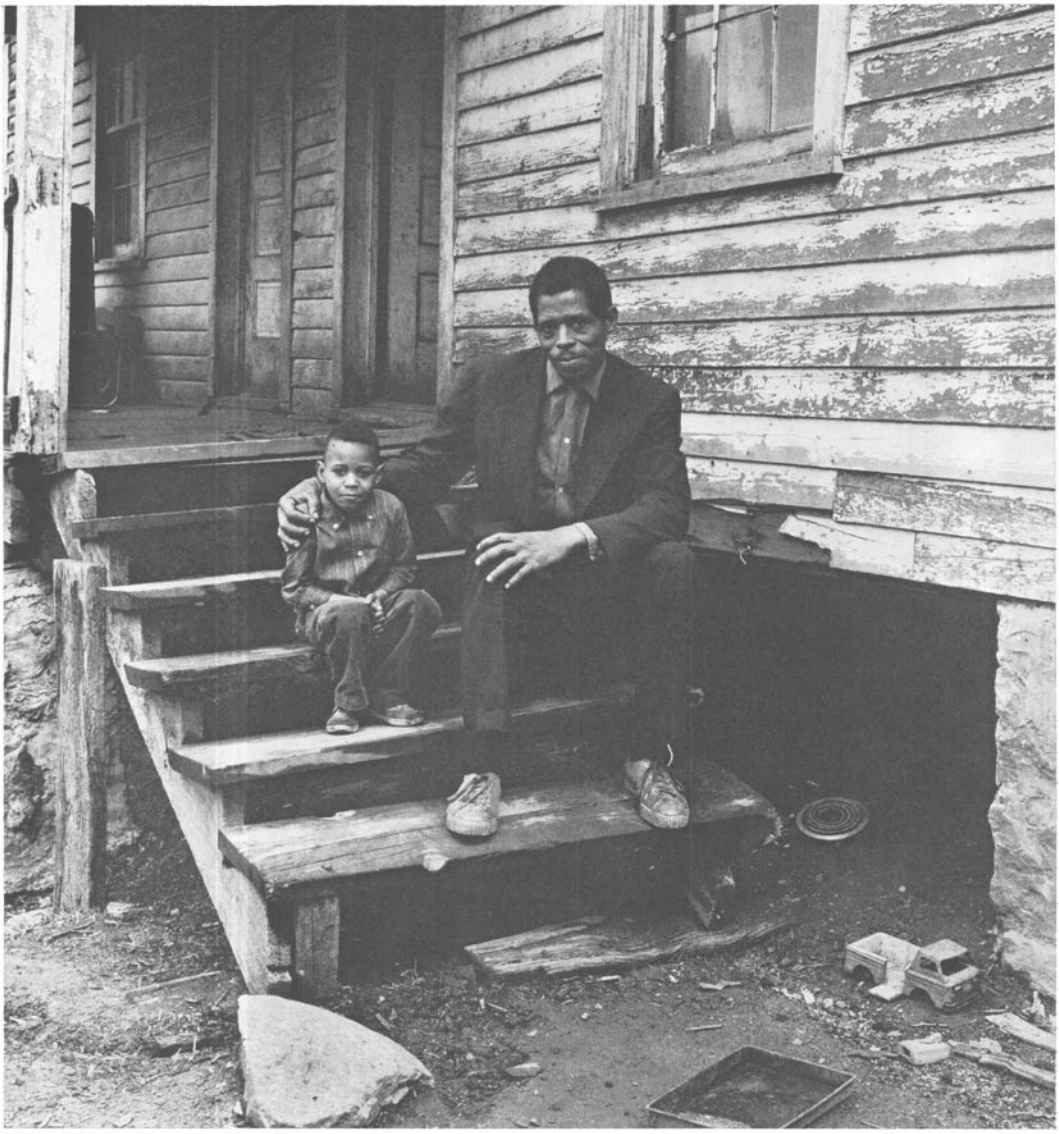


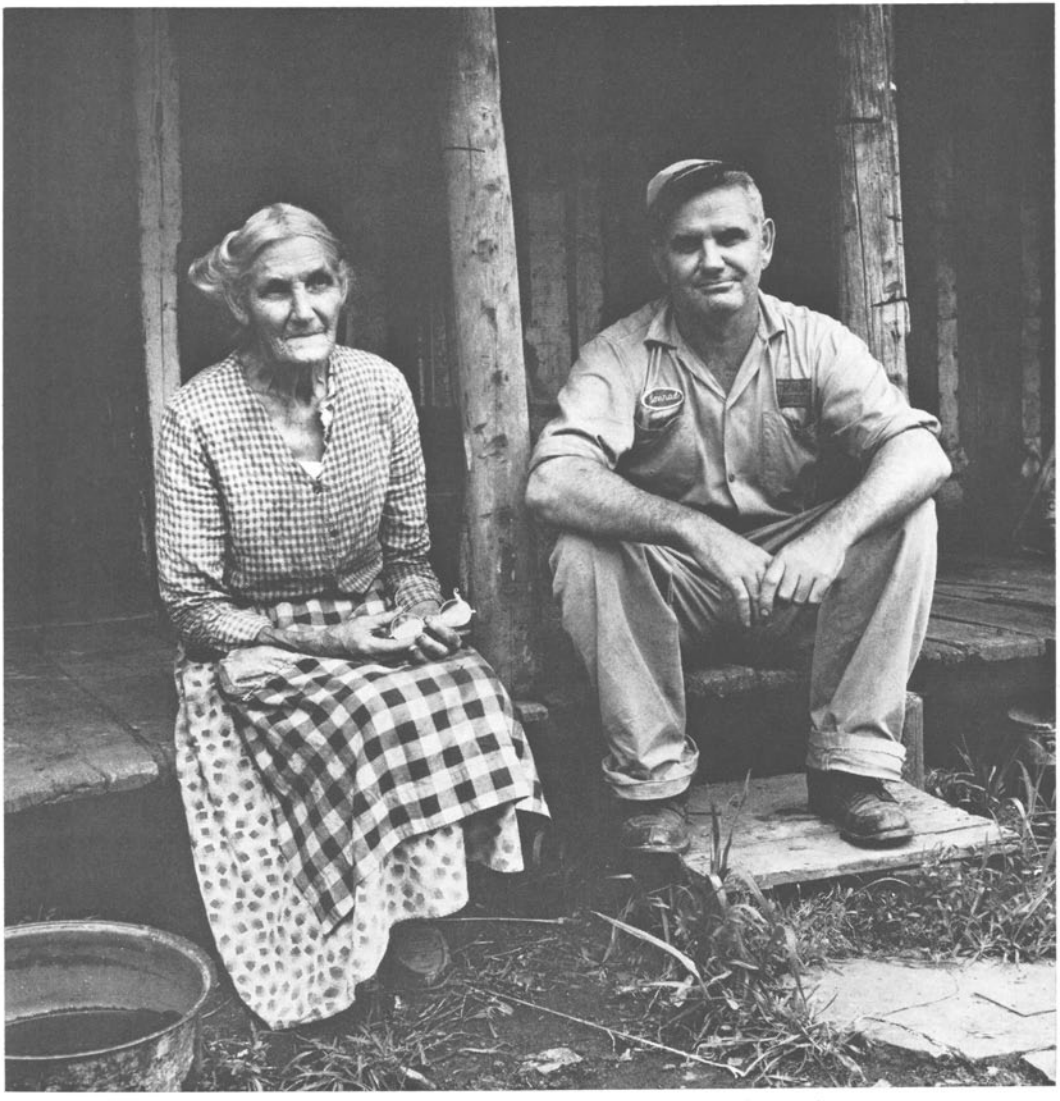


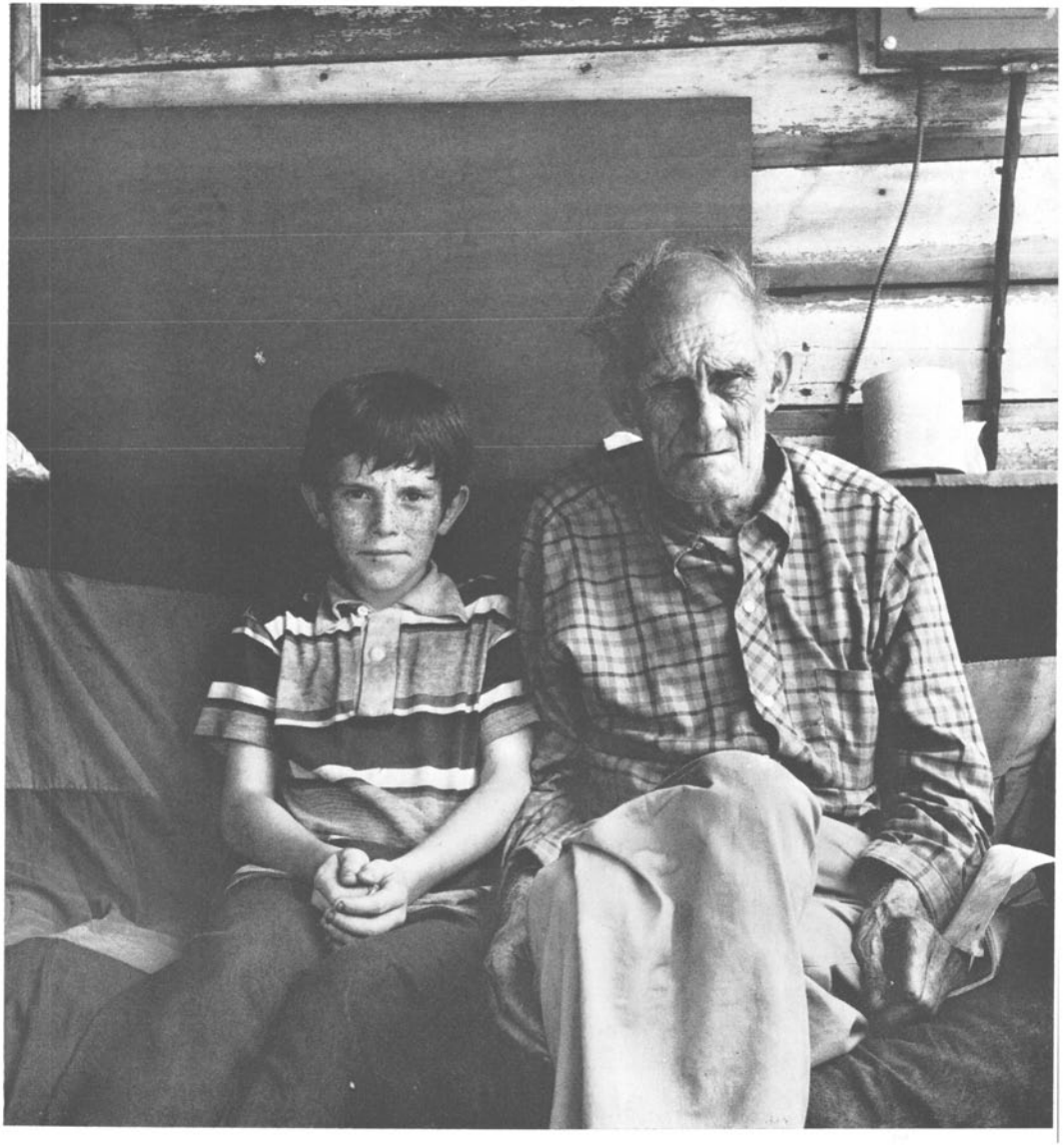


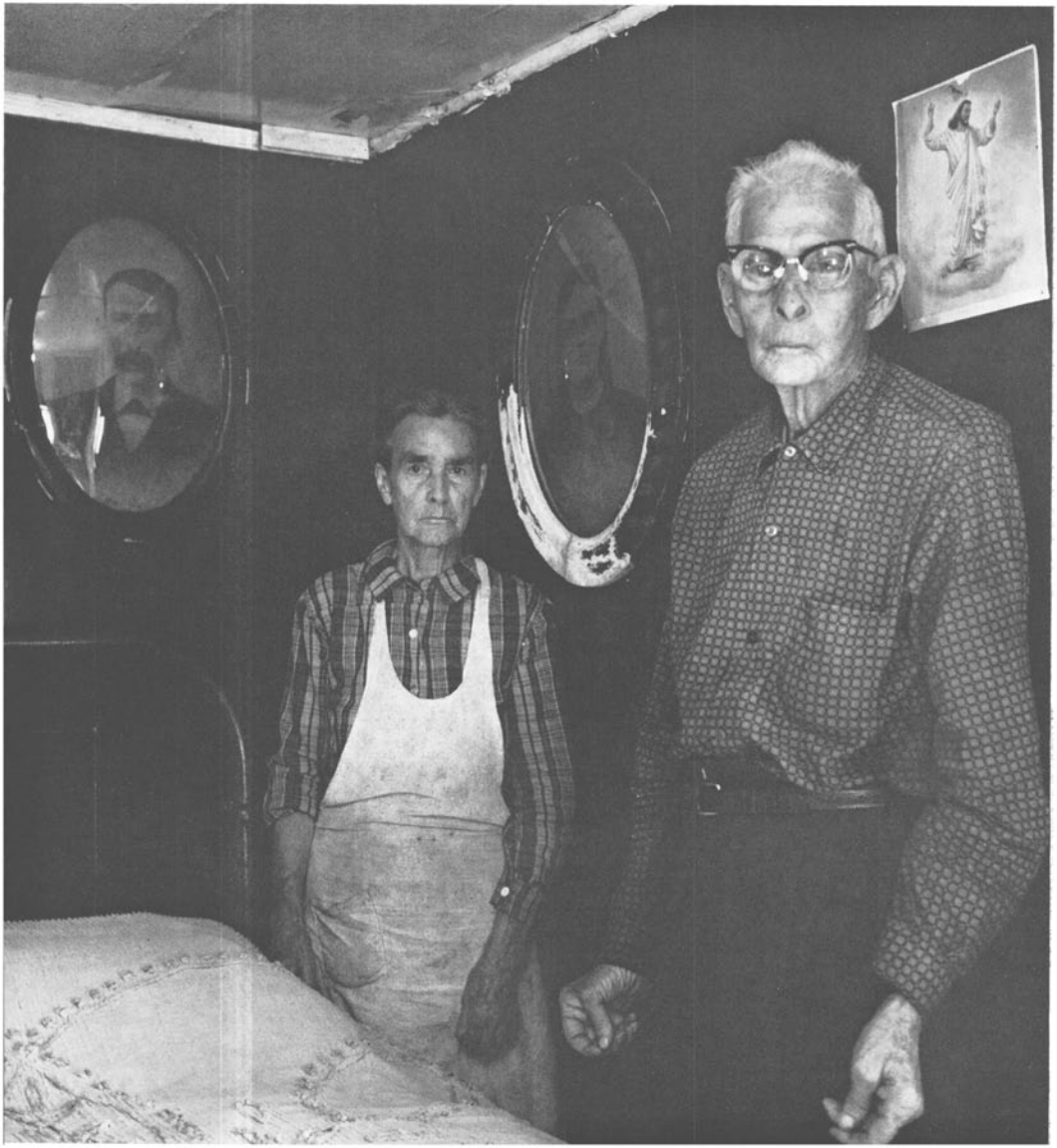


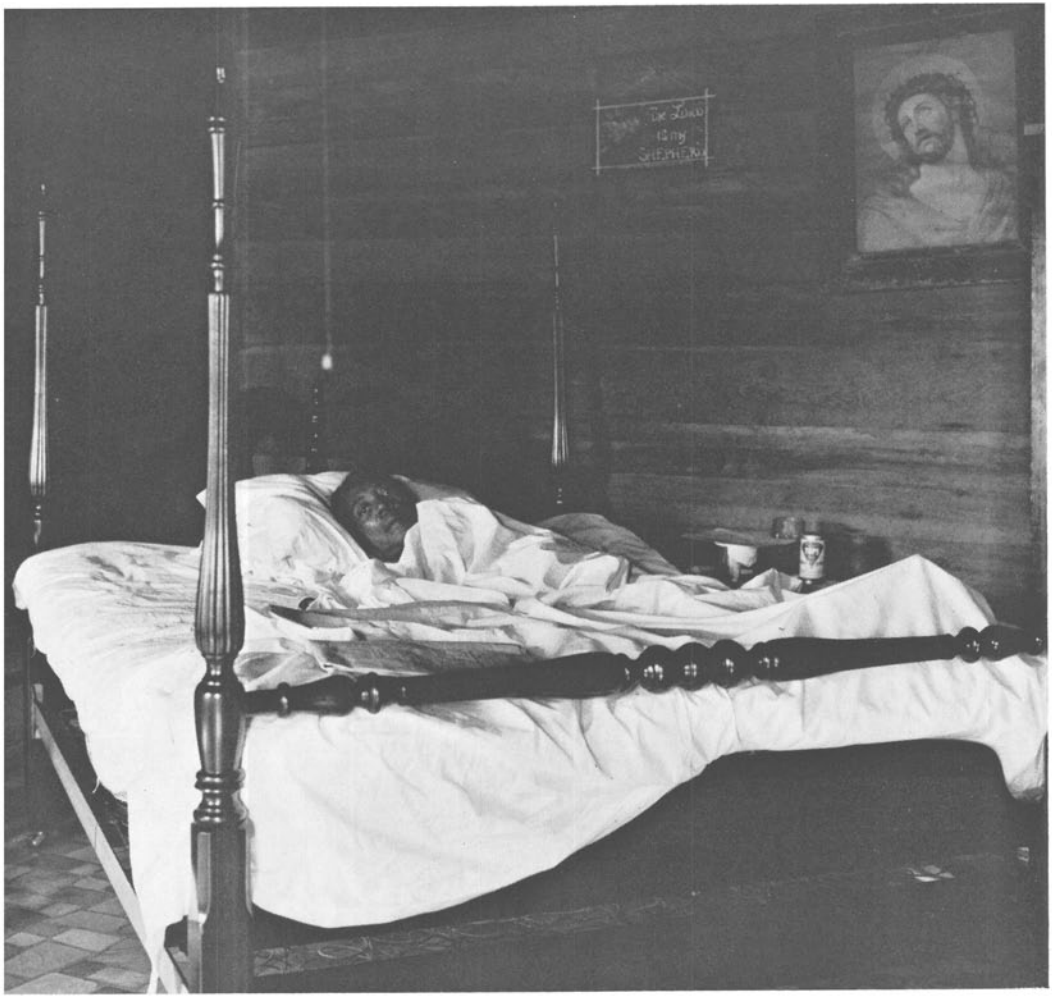











The LORD
is my
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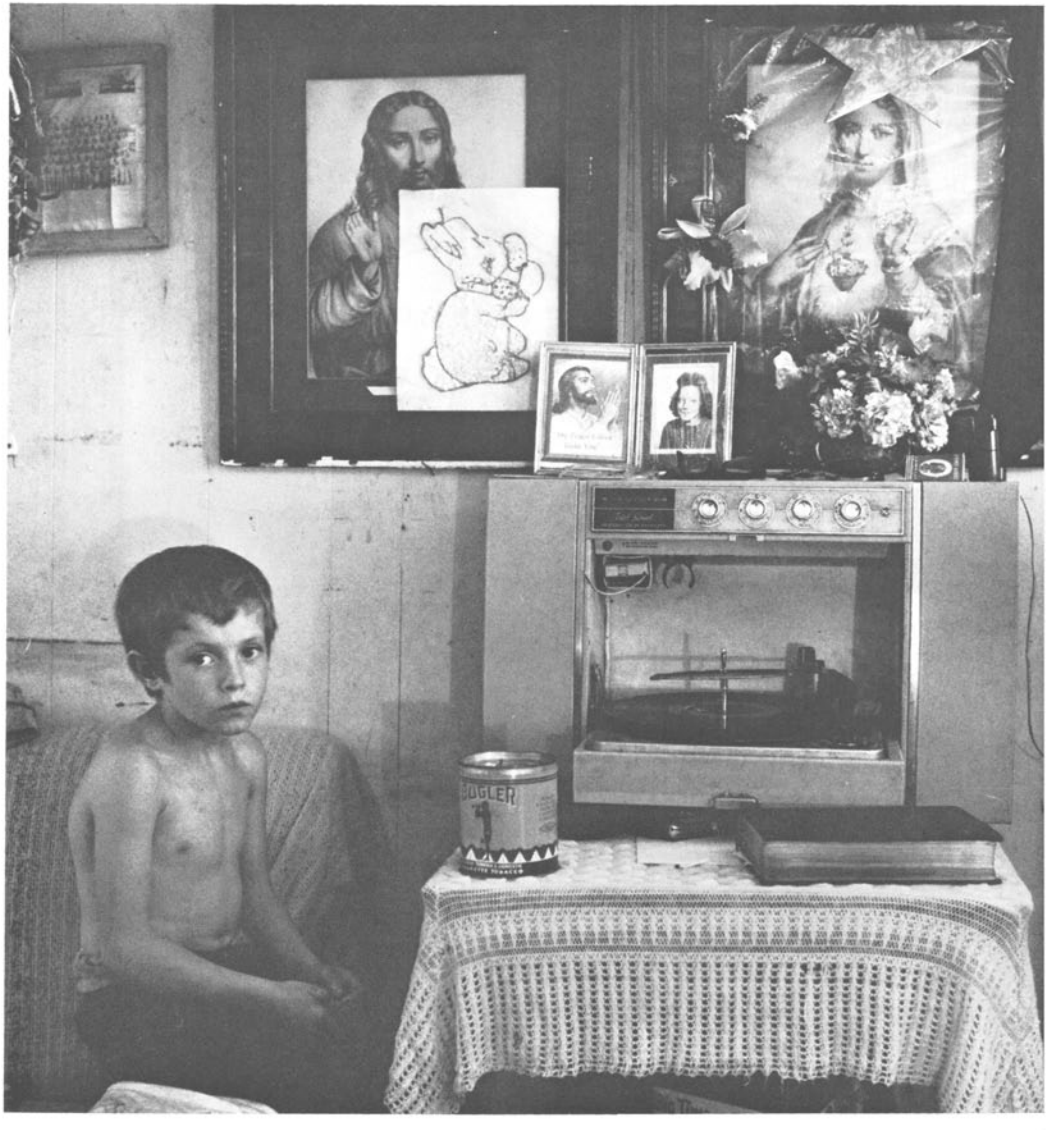
BUGLER

Tomorrow's Illiterates

DON ROBERTS

ALMOST ALL THE WRITING in library publications about the so-called "disadvantaged" has been of the pep talk variety, urging librarians onward and upward in evangelical style, often detailed with operational plans for this or that program. Librarians continue to be non-activists in a post-civil rights period, encumbered with a battery of self-conscious words and phrases like "functional illiterate," "non-reader," "cultural deprivation," etc. Librarians' print biases and educational prejudices are illustrated in documents such as *The Public Library and the City.*[1]

A similar paradox can be found in Hiatt and Drennan's *Public Library Services for the Functionally Illiterate: A Survey of Practice,* in which the "illiterate" might be considered "functional" and a call is made to "use all the arts and techniques of communication, at whatever degree of complexity or simplicity is needed."[2] But the "techniques of communication" which follow turn out to be simple (albeit important), and media, communication theory, community organizing technique and other vital subjects go almost unmentioned.

Belaboring the problems of the past with tedious retrospective wisdom is unnecessary; however, it should be noted that there are two continuing problems of focus—print delivery systems and locations—which prevent librarians from really getting down to business. Reading about some of the pioneers of outreach approaches in recent journals, one wonders why so much is made out of variations on a theme in delivery and location. We have had mobile library service for many many years. Margaret Edwards describes her forays into poverty areas with a horse and wagon.[3] Dorothy Oko and Bernard Downey[4] detail much of the material which has been endlessly repeated in Library Service and Construction Act project articles. The fact that this or that system has covered one more housing project or nursing home and added a film

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projector, a phonograph and a few colorful stickers to a bookmobile is relatively meaningless except as one more pep talk or a "we-do-this-better-at-our-place" type of thing.

Until librarians can get over their value judgments about educational hierarchies and the assumption that individual librarians are subsidiary to the educational establishment (especially the publishing interests and institutional chain of command), they will simply be unable to deal with the learning problems of the unemployed/unemployable, emotionally or physically disabled, and non- or post-literate person. Our compassion for the unlearned is too often confused by simplistic definitions, and we forget that we are talking about sophisticated learners in the "global village"[5] intermedia network sense.

The potential patron in the community is typically provided with a "list" of this or that (a major part of the delivery system). Thousands and thousands of valuable hours have been burned up on these bibliographies (something which shows up on the monthly institutional report), and so we are caught, as individuals, in the translation of the problems of society's subcultures into knowledge transfer systems. Librarians have become print-dominated, tradition-oriented persons, thereby distorting the whole process of learning and information survival in the present, and the right to read emphasis threatens to extend the process to the future.

Even the best locations and the most "McLuhanized" library vehicles will not do the job without a major change of consciousness on the part of the librarian. It has been the librarian's task to deliver less than disadvantaged service to the disadvantaged. Undoubtedly the consciousness patterns of librarians in projects have been changed. Many have learned to select materials well, in terms of real needs. Fewer have succeeded in using the materials under all the incredible conditions which exist.

The incredible conditions and how to cope with them are not generally the kind of information which is passed on at institutes. Largely overlooked and given little emphasis (especially by the federal government) is imaginative inservice training with the use of media, group dynamics, communication theory, information handling, etc. Institutes tend to pass on past attitudes, and to extend and solidify the consciousness patterns of the recent library past. This amounts to a mass conscious/subconscious dodge of the implications of the revolutionary changes needed in personal work styles and knowledge transfer techniques.

The people who have done the most and gone through the greatest number of personal changes deny the exigencies of agency, project, and book selection meetings, list making, etc., and go to the streets. They have defied location and delivery systems and have worked with the people on a one-to-one or small group basis. Sometimes this means putting on overalls so that information can be exchanged during a work process period. Or it might mean going around at the crack of dawn with a voter registrar as she or he contacts people who are on their way to the bus. This behavior means a distancing from institutional behavior (i.e., activities which look good on monthly reports), in favor of a very different space/time life style. An article by Evelyn Geller about the Venice, California, experience touches on this.[6]

The question arises about the availability of people who are willing to hit the street and hustle. If the librarian-hustler is unwilling to live in the community and to take the risks of real personal involvement and unusual hours, then community aides should be used instead. Community aides must be a part of any location or delivery system which hopes to succeed, because community people must be on the staff anyway. *Library Issues: The Sixties* wisely avoided a section on the "disadvantaged,"and it is significant that the best articles on the subject appeared in the part devoted to "identity." John Berry quotes Kenneth Clark on the problems of sensitivity and life style when working with people who are constantly reminded of their incompetence by persons working for the educational/informational establishment.[7]

Again, this identity problem relates to consciousness, to the ability to work with community people the way they are and where they are (and obviously not through their agencies, peer groups and self-styled leaders). Today this has a political base which is tricky and inescapable. An individual's identity is sorted out in a survival training sequence wherein he learns to convince and be convinced. Self-defense procedures, which might include karate, either keep one in the street or find one retreating into the institution. One either develops facility or leaves; one learns to shut his mouth and come back later. In this work, ultimate success is becoming a needed part of the intimate information network within the total community environment.

The library's very tardy entry into the post-civil rights era of public service may mean that it will not be able to progress beyond a certain point, and that the advocacy positions proposed by individual, and organized groups such as the Social Responsibilities Round Table (SRRT) may fall more and more behind because of accelerating con-

ditions and changing needs. Meanwhile, the new leadership of ALA, the SRRT and some of their divisions have kept people from dropping out of the profession, since they have been given hope that future accelerations may occur.

What will survival necessitate? Library services will have to be integrated into an intermedia, multilingual network which will offer maximum personal flexibility to the librarian. Intermedia means that librarians will not dominate services with print and print mentality, but will truly integrate their collections and services. Intermedia integration is not going to solve things automatically, but the mentality of integration and use is essential. Print and non-print will compete for space and money on an equal basis. Where neither can compete on a basis of up-to-date need (now the author is speaking of production materials), quality and pertinence, the librarians and community must originate materials to do the job. We can never assume that materials produced on national or international levels will serve the information needs of a specific community.

Our integrated collections will have to be dominated by post-literate styles and innovations, because acceleration via the McGuffee Reader route will not happen. Print will be secondary, as it is in the national education process at present. Video and audio cassettes, film cartridges, programmed instruction, cable television and radio broadcasting, the imaginative use of assumed communication channels (e.g., the telephone), and the important media of the past (16 mm. film, phonograph records, filmstrips, etc.) will enable librarians to deal with people in the present. These channels and devices will require new sensitivity and an enormous amount of hard work and commitment. They will have to be managed by young people, community aides and groups.

The primary focus will be on "hot" or directly applicable information within a community network (as opposed to ditto information on a national level, whether print or non-print). Information power has rested in the hands of the institution/establishment (networks, publishers, etc.), and it has been white power all the way. So the community information system must feature data banks (the data working within different media translations to reach different sensibilities and learning preferences); profiles (selective dessemination systems) on community leaders, groups and problems would enable rapid crisis information distribution possibilities. Alternate coverage of events and problems in

the community would protect local people and enable them to have a voice in media manipulation.

Multilingual means that all appropriate languages will be used, including computer language, street language, English as a second language, foreign languages, the languages inherent in media production and use, and the ever-changing English language. It is imperative that county and city computer data banks be available to the individual community for problem solving, and storage and retrieval of community-based data. We can no longer allow the so-called power structure to control and dominate computer use. Disastrous results will occur in censorship and community retaliation (destruction) will result if librarians allow this to continue.

There is only one place to learn street language—on the streets. Most of the valuable survival information (ingredients of the "hot" information system) are coded in this language. The more diverse the community, the more street languages there will be. (In a place like Venice, California, there are at least five.) Some of these will defy translation into standard English for inter-community use and will have to be recorded in the original. Others will lend themselves to use in many ways. Much of what is transmitted is non-verbal, and this is included in the street-language category.

Sometimes the librarian must master a street language full of a foreign language. (A good fictionalized version of this is the gang language in Anthony Burgess's novel, *A Clockwork Orange.*[8]) In Southern California and in the Southwest in general, English is merged with Spanish (all kinds of Spanish: Sonora, New Mexico, Baja, etc.) which really requires a knowledge of Mexican Spanish to recognize.

Languages will continue to be a problem, especially as schools drop language requirements, and students assume that non-verbal and intermedia languages will bridge the gap. Library systems should provide librarians with casssette and programmed instruction learning systems and community tutors (especially to deal with idiomatic use and to meet people like merchants, clergymen and others who communicate primarily in the language).

Media languages can be learned by getting to know media producers and specialists, young people who are involved with it, hi-fi and electronic shops, communications/broadcasting people, and audiovisual supplies' distributors. This must become part of the librarian's working vocabulary if he is to survive in community knowledge transfer.

These languages will enable the librarian to cooperate with other communication and information systems. Robert Haro has suggested university and college cooperation with public libraries in establishing library branches in the ghetto.[9] These branches could help translate academic, specialized jargon into the languages of the community and vice versa. Cooperative networks of all kinds must be accelerated in order to overcome the credibility gaps in our information-sharing and problem solving.

Panthers, Brown Berets and other radical groups can be valuable allies. They are suspicious of those who want to work with them, and rightly so. A library must prove itself in the community before it can expect any respect from these groups. The librarian will often have to choose between blocks of alliances and if he does choose the more radical, he may lose the more conservative social agencies (which in the West would be the coordinating council types). The experience of the author has shown that cooperation (everyone attends everybody else's meetings, includes them on reports, distributes flyers to them, etc.) with the agencies means a tremendous loss of time, so he would disagree with the Hiatt and Drennan collection on the importance of agencies for contacts.[10] This subsidiary system can become just another bureaucratic nightmare.

The most valuable potential institutional allies are the intermedia networks in the community: newspapers (including the underground press), magazines, radio, television (which is now referred to as the "fourth branch of the government"), film-makers, theater and puppetry groups, musicians, storytellers, and people (like salesmen, organizers, mailmen and others) who traverse the community constantly. These people enable the librarian to do programming, to create information events and files, and to draw people into information nets.

Related to these allies are specialized information contacts and resource people: auto mechanics, lawyers, doctors, real estate agents, employment counselors, etc. One must know these contacts well because wasted referrals or bad information can jeopardize anything gained in the community. These people must trust the librarian's sense of fairness (e.g., he will not burden these people with unnecessary requests—such as sending them individuals merely to rid himself of them) and understand his problems. The librarian's memory must work so that he helps these cooperating people as much as possible and remembers their needs in a reciprocal way.

Anything different causes turmoil among library personnel; therefore, anything innovative is bound to run into censorship problems. Intermedia approaches to community information power (especially black information power) must resist extensive criticism from the library establishment. When we start plugging communities into the city and county computer, we will know we are making progress, as we will when we can do alternative television documentaries on controversial events in our communities. The careful little-ventured, little-gained stances have left librarians naive in the trials of information gathering and sharing today.

Evelyn Geller's excellent editorial on the financial discrimination of public library funds points to another crucial censorship problem: "We have been predicating service on surface demand rather than real need because of our simple failure to budget *branches* on a pure *per capita* basis in terms of the *total* population they serve. As a result, we fund the poor on the assumption of benevolence, forgetting that they are *entitled* to equal library service." Geller further states that "equitable funding would force libraries to recognize that the 'demand' for information does indeed exist, though not in the terms in which we prefer to see it."[11] Thus, until we do "see" our funding responsibility in very different terms, the problem will not be solved.

To see it we must risk ever wider departures from our reliance on modified traditional delivery systems and locations. The Lowell Martin Chicago Public Library Survey is the best incorporation of practices which are fairly standard by now: storefronts, librarian advocates, library aides, educational themes, study centers, information and culture centers, improved service to the blind and physically handicapped, a library without walls, and a "diversity of personnel matching the diversity of its programs."[12] But the problem of which areas to concentrate on remains. Shotgun techniques (fire in all directions, and maybe the librarian will hit a patron or two) just are not going to make it. The money is not there, and librarians using this technique would not succeed if it were. (LSCA proved that in too many instances to remember.)

We are in the middle of a communications revolution which shakes the very basis of our society. Rationality and literacy are at stake, because what is "rational" and what is "literate" have changed immensely since the Second World War. Sukarno said it for the poor, and we must understand:

> The motion picture industry has provided a window on the world, and the colonized nations have looked through that window and have seen the things of which they have been deprived. It is perhaps not generally realized that a refrigerator can be a revolutionary symbol—to a people who have no refrigerators. A motor car owned by a worker in one country can be a symbol of revolt to a people deprived of even the necessities of life. . . . [Hollywood] helped to build up the sense of deprivation of man's birthright, and that sense of deprivation has played a large part in the national revolutions of postwar Asia.[13]

The above holds true also in Harlem, Detroit, Watts, etc., and if we updated Sukarno's "window" to include the transistor radio and television, we might sense the categorical deprivation of the poor when they watch the sophistication of moon-to-earth information handling. The same comparison may be made for the elaborate devices used by municipal authority (police) to control and manipulate poor communities.

One of the smallest windows on the world for the poor is print (although in the past it was one of the largest). Librarians must understand that this awareness of information networks, the response to the transistor radio and color television as the major carriers of information, will not go away. Librarians will succeed or fail in terms of how they use the newer windows, especially cable television. The Martin Chicago Public Library Survey recommends the "provision of audio-visual resources in which interest now runs high."[14] Gene Youngblood puts it this way: "The intermedia network quickly unearths and popularizes any new subculture [and old subculture] in its relentless drive to satisfy the collective information hunger."[15] All of the minority groups are constantly recreated as subcultures by media. Their definitions are there. The question is whether the library is going to continue to allow the distortion of definition by refusing to enter the present arena of delivery.

"Information hunger" is juxtaposed to sensory and information overload. Print prejudices suggest that the poor lack information, and that this information is essentially contained in books, which, for the most part, is false. There is more than enough information around, but the poor recognize that survival and growth in their environment necessitate the control, integration and manipulation of information within that environment in the newer formats.

The senior citizens of Venice, California, did not want books (a few did, and delivery and deposit collections worked for them); they wanted an information community.[16] They wanted a telephone calling network to make sure that their people were well, and so they called each other

in a cooperative system. They wanted legal help; they wanted to share information about medical services, food bargains, places to live, etc. The library happens to be a good base for these information systems (and the telephone is crucial to the success of them). This is but a simple exercise in consciousness, in enlightened information handling.

Information events and environments (including the flyers, posters and electronic announcements to make these happen) are more important than bibliographies and print-dominated programming. Community events create information, focus and pride. Alvin Toffler stated:

> Rational behavior, in particular, depends upon a ceaseless flow of data from the environment. It depends upon the power of the individual to predict, with at least fair success, the outcome of his own actions. To do this, he must be able to predict how the environment will respond to his acts. Sanity, itself, thus hinges on man's ability to predict his immediate, personal future on the basis of information fed him by the environment.[17]

So perhaps we can begin to understand the angst mentioned by Kenneth Clark in the John Berry editorial: "The library is another assault on their [i.e., the poor's] egoes. The war on poverty cannot be waged in terms of public relations, promises and verbal concern."[18] The information "war" must be waged in intermedia approaches which will complement the total environment, rather than frustrating it.

The crucial issue for librarians is consciousness and life style. Learning is in the community and with the community. The library is the environment, the total environment. As McLuhan says, "Everything is Information." "Delivery" is interpersonal, secondary and electronic. Élan, energy, and timing are the driving forces which keep work and life styles current and authentic. Our own knowledge changes to the extent that we admit the absurdity of senseless categorical words like "deprivation," or the foolish illusion of calling anyone an "illiterate" today. We are all "disadvantaged" in information transfer. Only the younger librarians realize the paradox here, and they are threatened for their awareness by what one of the Venice, California people, America Dunnavant, called "psychic murder"[19] (the "gap" between levels of consciousness, especially when they are between the community and supervisor, the information environment and the more entrenched librarians). The sooner librarians face these problems and work actively to overcome them, the faster they will be able to get on with challenges and solutions which will be the models for all post-literate library service.

Tomorrow's illiterate will not be
the man who can't read; he will be
the man who has not learned how
to learn.

Herbert Gerjuoy
Human Resources Research Organization

HOW DO YOU
KNOW WHEN
AN WHAT DOES
NOT MEAN
ANYTHING?[20]

Tommy Morehead
Street hustler and community worker
Venice, California

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The Library and the Disadvantaged Reader

H. ALAN ROBINSON
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DISADVANTAGED PEOPLE are apathetic toward and anxious about any organization in which there is a credibility gap between what it purports to provide and what it actually does provide. The effective library enables the disadvantaged person to find answers to his immediate problems. Disadvantaged people may have to go through one stage of using the library for practical immediate information before they can accommodate themselves to use the library for aesthetic satisfaction.

The purpose of this article is to summarize current research findings in reading and to describe programs and practices about the disadvantaged as they relate or may relate to the library and librarians. The article has been divided into a number of sections in order to discuss the various aspects of reading research and practices. The final section consists of a variety of implications which have been culled from the research and the reported practices, as well as the experiences of the authors of this article in working with the disadvantaged learner.

FAMILY STATUS AND HOME ENVIRONMENT

In identifying characteristics of the disadvantaged learner, the home environment has received considerable attention. Bloom, *et al.*, stated that the home is the single most important influence on the intellectual and emotional development of young children. They noted that there were fewer books in lower class homes, and that children were read to less frequently and spoken to less by their parents than upper class children. Their environment has been described as overcrowded, noisy,

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disorganized, austere, and generally devoid of any of the cultural artifacts, such as toys, books, and self-instructional materials frequently associated with school readiness.[1] Thomas described the disadvantaged learner as one who is afraid of parental authority, who comes from a home with few books, and who lives in a noisy atmosphere which fosters inattention and poor concentration.[2]

Since the learner's home experiences "do not transmit the cultural patterns necessary for the types of learning characteristic of the schools and the larger society," he is actually handicapped in the typical academic setting. "A large proportion of these youth come from homes in which the adults have a minimal level of education. Many of them come from homes where poverty, large family size, broken homes, discrimination, and slum conditions further complicate the picture."[3] Black stated that lower income housing is substandard and continues to decline in quality. He described the disadvantaged learner as being unaware of the ground rules for success in school, and in need of assistance in perceiving an adult as a person of whom one asks questions and receives answers. In homes barren of any interest or involvement in reading, the reading experience for this learner is over before it begins.[4]

Riessman pointed out the crowded conditions in lower class homes but also stressed the more positive aspects of such environment. These included cooperativeness and mutual aid of extended families, lack of strain accompanying competition, lessened sibling rivalry, and the security of a large family.[5]

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Data from several studies suggested that children from disadvantaged backgrounds show weaknesses in the utilization of abstract symbols to represent and interpret their feelings. Ausubel concluded that a delay in the acquisition of certain formal language forms resulted in difficulty in the transition from concrete to abstract modes of thought.[6] Deutsch observed lower class children to be inferior in abstract conceptualization.[7] Bernstein reported the higher intellectual development of middle class children to be a cultural function of elaborated language and not a matter of genetic superiority.[8] John found lower class children deficient in the use of language as a cognitive tool.[9]

Figurel stated that at grade two, the vocabulary of disadvantaged children is approximately one-third that of middle class children, while at grade six it is about one-half. He stated further that second grade

children in slum areas know fewer than half of the words of middle class preschool children.[10] Black stated that "disadvantaged kindergarten children use fewer words with less variety to express themselves than do kindergarten children of [higher] socio-economic classes. . . . Culturally disadvantaged children use a significantly smaller proportion of mature sentence structure such as compound, complex, and more elaborate constructions."[11] They use language chiefly to express concrete needs.

Umans, after reviewing various programs fostering creativity among disadvantaged learners, concluded that a combination or adaptation of several such programs might help break through the language barrier.[12] Both the foreign-born immigrant and the native-born disadvantaged learner "exhibit a class-based language syndrome, one that denies the lower-class person the verbal strategies necessary to obtain vertical social mobility. In our society, if the school is to be effective, students must be trained in how to use the language as a tool with which to improve the mind."[13]

TESTING INTELLIGENCE

Research consistently revealed that disadvantaged children generally have lower I.Q. scores as measured by standardized intelligence tests. Questions about the validity of intelligence tests continue to be raised. Eells's observation in 1953 is still significant; he spoke of the cultural bias of intelligence tests and noted that children from deprived backgrounds often receive scores which are inaccurate reflections of basic intelligence.[14] Lewis, *et al.*, added another dimension in their investigations of the role of intelligence and several other variables as determining factors in reading difficulties among junior high school boys. They found that inadequate readers scored significantly lower on intelligence tests (WISC) than adequate readers. The investigators implied that since "black [subjects] performed significantly worse than white [subjects] when tested by white examiners,"[15] scores might have been higher for black subjects had the examiners been black.

Klineberg provided evidence to support the contention the I.Q. scores can be changed by changes in environment, such as migration, acculturation, and special educational programs.[16] Brazziel and Terrell demonstrated that a six-week enrichment program was able to raise the I.Q. scores of twenty-six first grade Negro children in Tennessee.[17] Deutsch reported similar increases in I.Q. scores of preschool children as a result of the preschool programs initiated in New York.[18]

READING INTERESTS

Rowland and Hill tested the hypothesis that the interest of children in selecting material for reading and in selecting illustrative materials for creative writing would be influenced by the racial content of the material and the race of the child. They developed twelve pairs of identically written reading materials, one of each pair illustrated with Negroes and the other with Caucasians. They also developed fourteen pairs of pictures, one of each pair representing Negroes and the other Caucasians, to be used for creative writing. The investigators found a significantly greater proportion of Caucasians than Negroes who used the materials illustrating members of their own race for reading and creative writing purposes. There was a significantly greater proportion of Negroes than Caucasians who used the pictures of the opposite race for creative writing.[19]

On the other hand, Ford and Koplyay used a set of sixty pictures and an equal number of sentences portraying the action in each picture. Kindergarten through third grade children from an upper-middle class suburban school system and from a predominantly Negro urban school system were asked to mark the one picture on each page indicating a story they would most like to read and the one whey would not want to read. The topics most liked were in the following order: Negro heritage, children in the ghetto, history and science, children in general, fantasy, and animals. The differences were statistically significant. The investigators concluded that children's interests are related to age and sex to a greater extent than to socio-economic backgrounds.[20]

Barrett and Barrett were concerned with the preference of Negro pupils for three types of stories: a white boy in a nice home in the country, a boy living in a foreign country, and a Negro boy in an urban area. Of the forty pupils in the study, thirty chose the third type.[21] Emans offered twenty-two inner-city children six pairs of stories for choice as to the city theme or the family-friends-pets theme. The children had not begun to read so the pairs of stories were read to them and they were asked to point to the one they preferred to hear again. The family-friends-pets theme was chosen eighty times while the city theme was chosen fifty-two times, a difference highly significant at the .005 level. The study was replicated with fourteen boys and ten girls with similar results.[22]

Allen investigated through public opinion polls the use patterns and effects of the mass media on 100 residents of a metropolitan Negro ghetto in Pittsburgh. He concluded that mass media made interviewees

more aware of the materially rich middle class world and might have served as an indirect cause of racial discontent. His findings showed that ghetto residents depended almost entirely for news on the television evening newscast, and did not supplement this news with additional information from other media; that Negro ghetto residents viewed television extensively because it provided entertainment; and that *Ebony* was read by most of the interviewees whereas none received a weekly news magazine. He concluded that more communication might be established if newspapers increased material in regular news columns of interest primarily to Negro readers.[23]

READING ACHIEVEMENT

Martin Deutsch stated that the lower class child enters the school situation so poorly equipped for the learning situation that initial failures are almost inevitable. He found that disadvantaged children have inferior auditory discrimination and visual discrimination.[24] Cynthia Deutsch determined, however, that the poor readers among the disadvantaged had weaker auditory discrimination than the good readers.[25]

Filmer and Kahn analyzed the first grade Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test scores of twenty-five boys and twenty-five girls from each of eight socio-economic and racial groups. Analysis of variance showed that neither race nor socio-economic levels alone were critical to reading readiness, but that the interaction was significantly related.[26]

Hanson and Robinson compared the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test scores of kindergarten and first grade disadvantaged subjects with those of average and advantaged subjects. The scores for the disadvantaged group were significantly lower than the other two groups. When measured by the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test, this difference remained significantly lower for the disadvantaged group throughout the primary grades.[27] Hill and Giammatteo investigated the relationship between socio-economic status and school achievement of third graders. The Iowa Test of Basic Skills and Scott Foresman Basic Reading Tests were used as achievement measures. Children were tested in third grade and achievement data were obtained from their first and second grade records. Positive relationships were found between socio-economic status and the reading subtest scores at both grades one and three.[28] Speasl and Herrington studied the socio-economic distribution of children at the first and sixth grade levels. When reading readiness scores were compared they were found to be related to the socio-economic levels of the children. A comparison of the sixth

grade pupils' reading achievement scores, however, indicated no evidence that the differences in reading were related to socio-economic levels.[29] On the other hand, Hicks conducted a survey in East St. Louis of the reading achievement of disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged children from grades one through eleven. There were no great differences between grades one and two, but by the end of the third grade a noticeable retardation of the disadvantaged was observed. Thereafter, Hicks found that retardation increased through the grades.[30]

Carter constructed a questionnaire to assess the degree to which a person was cognizant of, integrated with, and participated in his environment. A total of thirty-five males, out of high school one or more years, were available for a personal interview. Twenty-three were reading one or more years below grade level upon entering high school and twelve were reading at grade level or above. A close relationship was found between reading retardation and social maladjustment, since personal and social maladjustments which had been prevalent in school as concomitants of reading retardation persisted into adult life.[31]

PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

Cohen investigated the effect of literature on the vocabulary and reading achievement of 285 disadvantaged children in the second grade. She introduced the variable of storytelling every day to the 155 subjects in the experimental group. (Storytelling was a chance occurrence among the 130 subjects in the control group.) There were three criteria for book selection in the experimental group: (1) events, concepts, and relationships in the story should be within the scope of conceptual grasp of the disadvantaged children; (2) there should be emotional identification; and (3) language used in stories shall deal with the concrete and sensory. The experimental teachers were trained in phrasing, quality of voice, pace, and knowledge of story. The experimental group made significant increases over the control group in word knowledge and reading comprehension.[32]

The Detroit Great Cities School Improvement Project set as its goal to increase the competence of children with limited backgrounds. Competence was defined not only as academic competence, but social competence, urban living competence, and work skill competence, including the ability to learn new job skills when required. The program focused on teacher-school-community improvement. Through workshops and inservice experiences, attempts were made to modify the perceptions of the teachers of disadvantaged learners as related to the chil-

dren, their community, and their curriculum. Some positive change was achieved when an entire school staff became actively involved in looking at its unique community, the unique problems of its youth, and its own strengths and weaknesses as a staff. Then the school staff made some positive attempts to search for appropriate curricular and organizational modifications to strengthen its own school situation.[33]

In the Great Cities Program in Philadelphia, the Paul Laurence Dunbar Elementary School serves as an encapsulated Negro community described as culturally impoverished. The school was reorganized around a school-community coordinating team. The school-community coordinators were lay members of the community selected for their ability to communicate with the disadvantaged. Among the recommendations made by the principal for the improvement of the program was the need to increase the number of books available for the children and the need to establish a library at each school.[34]

Burrucker and Becker reported on the Reading Is Fundamental (RIF) Program in Cleveland, Ohio. RIF sponsored book fairs at public schools, tutorial and community centers, libraries, and detention homes. Each fair consisted of an assembly program run by the children, and followed by the actual display and selection of books. The purpose of the RIF Program was to stimulate an interest in and an enjoyment of reading by self-selection and ownership of books among disadvantaged children. Children did not have to pay for the books. The RIF Program distributed over 40,000 books in sixty-two separate book distributions to 14,265 children in nine months of operation.[35]

A summer library service program, Read for Recreation, which served the entire Los Angeles City School District, met a particular need in the disadvantaged areas of the city by providing books for pupils who achieved independence in reading but who did not read widely. The program was an integral part of the total school recreation schedule and was supervised by certified teachers who had received preparatory training by the elementary library and youth services sections of the city schools. Weekly library themes, which frequently coincided with playground themes, stimulated the children's reading interests. Libraries were opened for ten weeks. A Read for Recreation certificate was awarded to each child who read ten books.[36]

A summer camp was set up in Agassiz Village, Maine, to help develop the reading and language arts ability of disadvantaged learners in the Boston Public Schools. A library was established through the contribution of books from the Boston Public Library. Numerous newspapers and magazines as well as books were available and other library

materials were readily accessible. A spoken-language program using skits, role playing, choral reading, musical games and campfire programs was taught along with the reading program. Reading materials included local, state and camp newspapers, and hot rod, sports, science fiction, nature, mystery and adventure magazines. Campers were encouraged to read on their own and rewarded when they did. One form of inducement was the printing of a book report in the camp newspaper.[37]

One of the Mobilization for Youth Programs was called Supplementary Teaching Assistance in Reading, or Project Star. This program conducted reading clinics for parents of disadvantaged children. Parents were instructed in the skills of storytelling and reading to children and encouraged to ask their children to give verbal summaries of lessons learned at school. The parents were taught several language art games. Parents received lists of places of interest in New York City which could provide worthwhile experiences for the children and the entire family. Lists written in English and Spanish included libraries, museums, parks, zoos, beaches, ballparks, hospitals, bridges, tunnels and airports.[38]

The Higher Horizons Program, designed to identify and stimulate able students from culturally disadvantaged areas to reach high educational and vocational goals, was introduced into numerous junior and senior high schools in New York City. Students were involved in programs directed toward raising their opinions of themselves and their levels of aspiration. As students began to succeed and as they sensed greater acceptance by school personnel, they displayed greater pride in themselves and were motivated to better achievement. All pupils were taught in small groups which provided a feeling that the school cared about them and had adjusted the learning environment in such a way that it was possible for them to succeed. Intensive guidance accompanied the intensive instruction.[39]

Berg described the characteristics and needs of the disadvantaged child as they relate to reading. He pointed out the pressing need for a central library and librarian for every school.[40] "A program to teach students weak in language and deficient in reading must have books available with a wide range of interest and difficulty levels. Adapted classics, trade books to stimulate language usage, small books with many pictures—indeed, materials geared to meet existing states of readiness at any level—must be available if a reading program is to succeed."[41]

Jennings reported on a program designed to teach 1,070 adults in

Appalachia the skills of communication and computation. Students were grouped into three levels: basic level, intermediate level, and upper level. One hundred and fifty hours of instruction were given. Provision was made for the services of a supervisor and a counselor for each of ten classes. Each class session met for three hours, two times a week. Approximately one-third of all students were considered functionally illiterate. Learning experiences were made as functional as possible by building them around the needs and interests of the students. Used as content for teaching were those skills for such everyday experiences as consumer buying, health habits, family relationships, general citizenship responsibilities, and community and world affairs. Teachers were prepared through an inservice training period and used a variety of methods. Of the 1,070 students, 963 showed evidence of consistent progress. Standards for the level in which they had been placed were completed by 356 students. Fifty-eight students made little or no progress and forty-nine discontinued the program voluntarily.[42]

Brown reported that most of the people who were in basic education classes in Buffalo indicated that they wanted to learn to read in order to get a job or a better education. Half of them indicated that they wanted to be able to read the Bible. They were limited in interacting with their environment—unable to use the telephone directory or dial, unable to read signs while traveling, unable to read a driver's manual and, as a result, unable to get a license. Brown suggested that instruction should be differentiated and individualized to meet the person's needs, it should be thorough at each of the instructional steps before moving on to more difficult levels, adequate reinforcement should be provided, and the student must be "trapped" into becoming involved in the learning process.[43]

The High John Branch Library in Prince George, Maryland, originated as an experiment in library training to initiate library change in library education. Operated by the School of Library and Information Services at the University of Maryland, it was an outgrowth of the thinking of some members of the faculty involved in the training of librarians and was federally funded. The library was located in a small single-story house in the disadvantaged section. The philosophy behind this location was to be conveniently situated in the residential area of the people whom the library intended to serve and to present an image of warmth and acceptance.[44]

Attractive, colorful signs were put on telegraph poles with arrows pointing toward the library location. A mobile film unit was strategically moved about the community to show films and give informa-

tion about the library. The entire climate at the library was casual. Throughout the rooms of the library books were arranged using interest categories as labels such as Great People, Your Money's Worth, Around the House, Science, and Family Life. The magazine and paperback book collections were very large. The policy of the library was to permit new borrowers to take out a book immediately upon registration. There were no fines for overdue books. Library clerical assistants were local teen-agers. A room was set aside in the library to do homework assignments.[45] The library started a High John Video Club and gave television awards to its active members.[46]

When the federal funding was terminated the University of Maryland discontinued its relationship with the High John project. The Prince George County Library System continued to run the branch. There have been problems recently in the operation of this branch due to its location in an unpaved area with inadequate lighting, and its small size which lends an inviting atmosphere but presents difficulties for the optimum use of its available material. The library staff walked out in November 1970, to protest "insoluble factors which prevent successful operation [of a library]."[47]

A variety of innovative library practices was reported as being used by public libraries in New York City to attract and service the disadvantaged in their communities. The public libraries in these areas provided book lists, exhibits of minority contributions, film programs, story hours for preschool and elementary school children, photography shows and parent workshops.[48] In sections where Spanish was the predominant language, there were large collections of books in Spanish. The programs in these sections were given in Spanish and English and a Spanish-speaking library aide was employed by the library. Library personnel made trips into the community to register children and adults. The librarians conducted story hours in churches, storefronts, and housing projects. Paperback books were placed in laundromats, beauty parlors, bowling alleys, and housing projects. One of the New York City Public Libraries, the Countee Cullen Branch in Harlem, houses the large Schomburg collection of materials about and by blacks. This library has duplicated a large number of these materials for distribution.[49]

IMPLICATIONS

The word *implications* is rather formal and, perhaps, audacious to use in this context. We did not read or digest all of the research and reports in either the field of reading instruction or in library science.

On the other hand, we could not as people outside the field possibly consider what we list below to be *recommendations.* We hope the reader will accept our "implications" as an honest attempt to reflect what grows out of research and reports, as well as our interpretation of what we saw, heard, and read. We are much too aware of the fact that each library and librarian must temper imaginative enterprise with budget realities. Nevertheless, we state implications in a variety of overlapping categories below with no attempt to compromise with restricting influences.

Without question several of the implications are already *action* in a number of places. In some instances, ideas have been tried and they have failed in action. We urge that innovations continue in spite of a degree of failure. There is little doubt in our minds that many traditional library practices cannot engage the disadvantaged reader.

Accessibility. (1) Subsidiary library collections, in addition to a multitude of bookmobile routes, should be housed and staffed in storefronts, post offices, hospital waiting rooms, employment offices, bowling alleys, and laundromats. (2) Such collections need to be located within the neighborhood where the disadvantaged learner or reader resides. (3) Free bus service, covering a wide variety of routes, ought to be available to transport library users, and prospective library users, to the branch or central library several times a week.

Staffing. (1) Librarians, of course, should be representative of a diversity of backgrounds. But, particularly in centers servicing minority groups, every effort must be made to hire members of those minority groups in order to promote identification and security. (2) In areas servicing a population where another language is spoken, one or more professional staff members should be able to speak and write that language well enough to communicate with library users. (3) Parents and students of the minority group ought to be trained and employed to serve a variety of paraprofessional functions. (4) When a substantial percentage of the population to be served is completely illiterate, at low levels of literacy, or partially literate (see fig. 1), a staff member trained in the field of reading needs to be hired with the sole responsibility of working with individuals, small groups, and (perhaps from time to time) reading improvement classes.[50] (5) All staff members servicing the library user, particularly reference and circulation, must make every effort to help actively and warmly. Some potential users are "turned off," never to return, by unanimated efficiency in a cold climate.

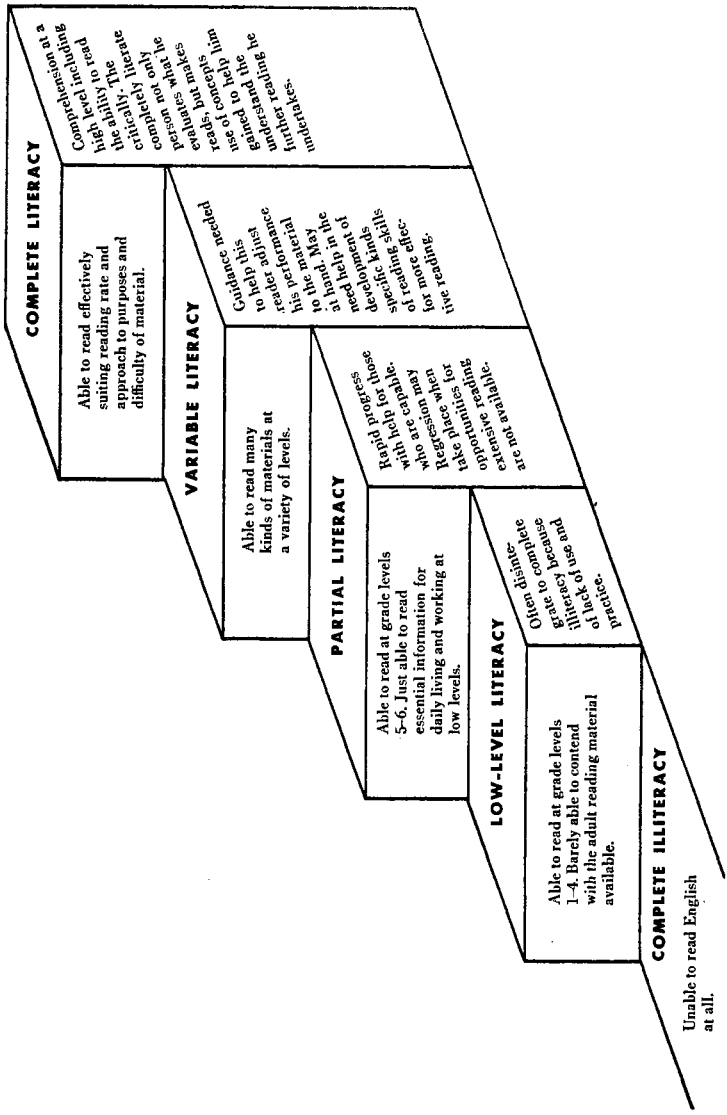

Fig. 1. Stairway of (Reading) Literacy
From: Robinson, H. Alan. "Libraries: Active Agents in Adult Reading Improvement," *ALA Bulletin*, 57:417, May 1963. (Reprinted with permission.)

Relevance. (1) There should be an entry room, or orientation section, to be used as the first stage of acquaintance with the library. This room should be attractive and comfortable, housing eye-catching displays immediately relevant to the needs of the disadvantaged. A simplified collection of materials organized through the use of simplified labels, *not the Dewey Decimal or Library of Congress system,* should be ready for use. (2) A wide variety of current periodicals, such as *Ebony,* dealing with the life of the people in the community ought to be prominently displayed and available.[51] (3) Recognition of important events and of the contributions by minority leaders should be presented via showcase exhibits, films, and recordings. (4) Paperbacks ought to be displayed prominently, preferably on revolving racks. A large quantity of them, on a variety of pertinent topics, should be accessible. (5) Displays concerned with one pertinent interest area or need should be featured and changed frequently. Books and other materials related to the area need to vary in size, appeal, and reading level.

Community service. (1) School and public libraries should feature storytelling times (scheduled frequently), and often offered in connection with parent workshops on storytelling and reading. (2) Libraries must take the initiative for improving adult reading by working in conjunction with other agencies or sponsoring their own mini-courses and workshops. Such programs must steer clear of broad reading improvement courses, but instead zero in on special short-term courses related to the realistic reading tasks needed in homemaking, job application, specific occupations, consumer education, child care, and the like. (3) Booths of print and non-print materials sponsored by the library ought to be exhibited (with advisory service) at major community functions. (4) Community agencies should be able to find space at the library for forums on a multitude of topics which could intertwine with the services of librarians. In addition such visits to the library get prospective library users to feel comfortable and welcome. (5) Dramatic lectures and discussions on relevant topics by community leaders and inspirational guests should be sponsored by and held in the library. In fact, the library ought to be the center of cultural enrichment for the disadvantaged. Art displays, recitals, concerts, plays, films, and dance recitals should be presented. (6) Librarians in public and school libraries need to coordinate efforts to help teachers learn the skills of storytelling and to increase their knowledge of children's and adolescent literature. (7) Public libraries should provide collections of books on loan to the public schools when desirable. Such collections might also be made available to summer camps for disadvantaged children.

Recruitment. (1) Modern methods of mass advertising (television, radio, newspapers, posters in local store windows) should be utilized to acquaint the disadvantaged with the services of the libraries. (2) Librarians need to go into the community to seek registrants. Booths might be set up in supermarkets; a welcome wagon might greet newcomers; registration opportunities should be available and publicized in the schools. (3) Prospective library users ought to be invited to orientation meetings—very explicit and simple—which include the serving of coffee and refreshments provided by a Friends of the Library or other such group.

School libraries. (1) Public and school libraries should work together. Staffs should meet together; in fact, joint inservice programs aimed at servicing the disadvantaged can be most helpful. (2) In spite of some of the obvious problems, arrangements need to be made to have school libraries open later each day and open during the summer months. (3) At the college level, it is imperative that the library stay open as many hours as possible and provide suitable study areas, for many disadvantaged learners come from home situations not conducive

Confidential

Student Douglas, Tom Class Senior

Rough estimate of general reading-level for handling materials independently:
Public-School Grade-Level 9 2

	National Percentile	Local Percentile**
STEP Social Studies Score	30-36	3
STEP Science Score	28-62	18
Cooperative Reading Test Level of Comprehension	11	23
General Vocabulary	35	8
Speed of Comprehension	43	5
Total	43	8

Fig. 2. Instant Reading Level Card

From: Thomas, Ellen Lamar. "Instant Access to Students' Reading Levels," *School Library Journal*, 12:49, April 1966. (Reprinted with permission.)

to study.[52] (4) Also at the college level it is important to have available for circulation as many copies as feasible of texts used in the various classes; Clayton found that undergraduate college students from families with less than a $4,000 per year income borrowed significantly more books than did students whose family income was at least $16,000.[53] (5) Any school library should service the curricula of the school and the needs of its students. Librarians should actively encourage teachers to notify them of particular assignments in advance; in this way the library can be prepared for the needs of students with print and non-print materials. (6) School librarians ought to be aware of the first names of students as quickly as possible. This type of contact establishes a significant feeling of rapport. (7) Thomas's "instant reading level card" (fig. 2 above) permits librarians to look up a student's approximate reading level rather quickly so appropriate materials can be matched to the needs and capabilities of the learner.[54] (8) Interest clubs, both in public and school libraries, focusing primarily on the interests rather than reading, will carry a student to reading and library usage through his search for answers to questions.

Specific procedures. (1) Reminders about the due date for books should be sent out *before* the books are overdue. (2) Book fines should be abolished. (3) Certain days need to be set aside and publicized when books may be returned to the library without penalty. (4) Books and other materials should be readily available to the new registrant without a waiting period. (5) A reading level for each book in the library ought to appear on title, subject, and author cards.

Preparation for library work. (1) Both in library school and inservice situations librarians need training in understanding the needs, aspirations, and life patterns of disadvantaged learners. (2) Every prospective librarian should receive training in human relations along with courses in sociology, anthropology, psychology, learning theory, and adult education. (3) Students enrolled in library schools very much need to serve frequent apprentice periods in libraries servicing the disadvantaged.

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Reading Materials for Adults with Limited Reading Experience*

HELEN HUGUENOR LYMAN

> Few remember that to learn to read and write is one of the great victories in life.[1]
>
> Bryher, *The Heart to Artemis*

> The pleasure which I derived from reading had long been a necessity, and in the *act* of reading, that marvelous collaboration between the writer's artful vision and the reader's sense of life, I had become acquainted with other possible selves—freer, more courageous and ingenuous and, during the course of the narrative at least, even wise.[2]
>
> Ellison, *Shadow and Act*

MILLIONS OF ADULTS with limited reading interests, abilities and experience live in the metropolitan and rural areas of the United States. They are to be found most frequently among the poor, disadvantaged, and undereducated population. Not all adults in this population are illiterate or ill-educated, but such circumstances increase the likelihood that they will be.

What an adult reads and how much he reads are influenced by his attitudes toward reading, reading skills, interests and needs, motivations and education, and anticipated rewards. The content of the materials, its values and subjects, reading level, organization, format, and treatment are other major influences.

The purpose of this article is to report findings from the research literature about adult literacy and adult reading materials for adults with

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* Adapted from a part of the report on the research project, Library Materials in Service to the Adult New Reader, which is in preparation.

limited reading experience, to define the dimensions of the problem, and to identify new concepts and trends in library programs in this area of adult service. The review of the literature which follows includes research primarily from the fields of librarianship, adult education, reading, and literacy, and from evaluative studies of library adult reading improvement programs. The sociological research on disadvantaged adults contains important information pertinent to this area of library adult service. This research can be noted only briefly because of its extent. Although a significant world literacy program exists, the literature surveyed is that concerned with the United States. For the most part the research reviewed is confined to the last two decades. Implications of the findings are interpreted primarily in relation to public library service. The discussion includes first the definition of literacy, its problem and purpose, followed by a review of response and solutions by adult educational and public library agencies based on adult literacy and library studies.

Research that focuses directly on the current multifaceted problem of reading materials for adults who are in the process of becoming more mature critical readers and on the role and responsibilities of libraries in materials service is at a beginning stage. Information frequently has been gained through trial and error in experimental programs that have had limited successes and bitter failures.

What is literacy? What is illiteracy? The answers vary depending primarily on the framework within which the definition is established, the geographic location, the period in history, the United States census definition, and the literacy requirements for achievement. A quarter of a century of work by the Laubachs resulted in experience and knowledge unexampled. Their great pioneer effort reached into ninety-six countries. They pioneered the way in writing for "new literates" and prepared lessons in 274 languages. They have had, not only priority, but dominance in the field. Their knowledge has been depended upon by everyone interested in the world literacy problem.[3]

After World War II, leadership moved to the United Nations which operates a world literacy program through the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). UNESCO assists nations in achieving basic literacy for their population. UNESCO defines a person as literate "when he has acquired the essential knowledge and skills which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community, and whose attainments in reading, writing, and arithmetic

make it possible for him to continue to use those skills toward his own and the community's development."[4]

The usual grade school equivalent for judging literacy has been the completion of the fourth or fifth grade level. This standard has been used by UNESCO, the United States Bureau of the Census, and the United States Army. "Functionally illiterate adults are defined as those who have not completed the first four elementary grades or first four years of school. For practical purposes, a 'literate' person is one who, according to the Census or other qualified agency, *can* read and write at the fourth grade level, an 'illiterate' person is one who *cannot*."[5]

After half a century of development, reading is conceived as a complex activity and has been defined by Gray as having five dimensions: perception of words, a clear grasp of meaning or comprehension, thoughtful reaction, assimilation or integration, and flexible rates of reading.[6]

Based on the assumption that literacy is "a necessary commodity," Harman defines literacy as encompassing three stages: the conceptualization of literacy as a tool; literacy attainment, the learning of reading and writing skills; and the practical application of these skills in activities meaningful to the learner.[7]

Robinson on his "stairway of reading literacy" (see above, page 319) places adults who are able to read at grade levels one through four, only one step beyond complete illiteracy. They are "barely able to contend" with the adult reading materials available. They often regress to complete illiteracy because of lack of use and practice.

They move from this low level literacy to partial literacy when they are able to read at grade levels five through six, sometimes said to be the reading level of the general public. At this point they are able to read essential information for daily living and working at low levels. Rapid progress is possible where there is help for those who are capable. Regression takes place when opportunities for extensive reading are not available. And finally, complete literacy or the highest reading level is attained when one reads critically and with understanding.[8]

Another problem arises. Functional literacy when measured by grade level is not equivalent with achievement. Hilliard reports a study, done in 1962, to determine literacy levels of welfare recipients sixteen years of age and over in the Woodlawn area of the city of Chicago, Illinois. It was found that when the average achievement levels for each reported grade completed were compared, at no grade did the average achievement measure up to the reported grade. Indications were that

not until the completion of the thirteenth grade did scores show functional literacy.

In the total sample of 680 persons, there were 6.6 percent who completed less than five years of schooling (functional illiterates according to grade placement); 19 percent who completed the fifth, sixth, or seventh grade; 16.5 percent who graduated from elementary school but went no further; 44.9 percent who started school but did not graduate; 11.6 percent who completed high school but went no further; 1.0 percent who went to college for one or more years; and two recipients who attended ungraded schools. The average educational level equaled 8.8 years.

The actual achievement levels were quite different. These achievement levels as indicated by their test scores showed that 50.7 percent of the sample had achieved less than five completed school years and thus were functionally illiterate. There were 42.2 percent who scored over 6.0 but less than the maximum of 10.0 on the test, and 6.5 percent who scored the maximum, indicating that they had completed the learning of the fundamentals of reading. The average achievement equaled a score of 5.9.

As the age of the recipients increased, the educational and achievement levels decreased. As the age at leaving school increased, the educational and achievement levels also increased. This literacy gap between educational background and reading ability, which Hilliard characterized as the blackboard curtain, showed a massive undereducated population.[9]

A similar study of the East St. Louis area resulted in similar findings. Of the recipients of public aid who were tested, 58.5 percent were unable to read at the fifth grade level, although 82.1 percent had completed the fifth grade.[10] Final conclusions drawn from both studies were that undereducation is a basic cause of dependency in this automated age, and grade level cannot be used to predict socio-economic functioning level. Such functional illiteracy prevents any vocational retraining.

In the past the population of the United States was thought to be highly literate with limited reading abilities being confined to the immigrants who came to the shores of the United States. With their own cultures suppressed and submerged, they were assimilated as naturalized citizens. While they or their children learned, they supplied manpower for the many unskilled jobs. Some learned in Americanization classes, used public libraries for self-education, and moved upward and outward from the ghetto. The public schools and the public libraries

were the agencies in which the entire population would be educated. Literacy was both the result of education and the method for achieving further educational goals. Illiteracy, it was thought, was a problem only in other countries. It was assumed that the Laubachs with their far-flung literacy program, the "each one teach one" way, would bring literacy to the rest of the world.

A steady decline in illiteracy was recorded by the United States Census Bureau based on statistics of persons who could not read or write in any language.[11] Beginning in 1940 statistics were gathered by the Census Bureau with years of schooling used to estimate the extent of literacy or illiteracy. The 1960 census continued to collect data on years of schooling of persons twenty-five years old and over, and indicated that over 3 million persons were illiterate.

Figures from the 1970 census and the Office of Education show the number of persons unable to read and write in any language has decreased in the nation by 50 percent since the 1960 census. Southern totals dropped by only 25 percent, leaving twelve states with 950,000 completely illiterate persons. Another million are barely able to contend with written words. Like other parts of the country, especially in the northern cities, the illiterate include young and old, most of them poor. All ethnic groups are represented. They are scattered from the Rio Grande Valley to Appalachia, and from California to Maine.[12]

The proponents of the 1966 Adult Education Act established that over 23 million adult men and women in the United States had not completed eighth grade and 11 million of these had less than a sixth grade education. The Census Bureau estimates that by 1980 there will be more than 5 million persons twenty-five years and over with less than five years of schooling, and over 21 million with less than eight years. In spite of attempts to eradicate illiteracy, by 1985 there will be more than 800,000 persons twenty-five years and over with no schooling, over 3.5 million with less than five years of schooling, and over 10 million with less than eight years.[13] Laubach, in "A Study of Communications to Adults of Limited Reading Ability," estimates the dimensions of the problem to be contained in one statistic—that 8.3 million men and women in the United States, twenty-five years of age and over, have less than a fifth grade education. The population in this age group totals approximately 100 million.[14]

In late 1969 when James E. Allen, Jr., was the United States Commissioner of Education, he conceived of the right to read program to solve contemporary literacy problems. Allen pointed out at the time

that one out of every four students nationwide had significant reading deficiencies. About half the unemployed youths, ages sixteen to twenty-one were functionally illiterate. Three-quarters of the juvenile offenders in New York City were retarded two or more years in reading. Functional illiteracy raises a barrier to success that for many young adults produces the misery of a life marked by poverty, unemployment, alienation, and, in many cases, crime.

Special groups that make up this population can be identified both in urban and rural areas. Reading materials service to satisfy these groups' needs and interests are a unique contribution libraries can make. The majority of these readers come from the disadvantaged population, have low incomes, limited education, and little reading experience. These groups include the rural immigrants to the city, the migrant population, the minority ethnic groups, American Indians, ghetto youth, blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans.

Today an individual must be at an eighth grade literacy level to be considered functionally literate. Many adults lapse into illiteracy because they drop out of school or because they have no reading materials suited to their needs or reading skills. Many become disillusioned and are apathetic about continuing their reading.

The application of the amplified definition and broadened concept of functional literacy increases the total number of readers who are considered to have inadequate reading abilities. The implications for librarians as well as teachers are clear. These readers require special materials and guidance, not only in the first stage of learning and acquiring skills, but until a degree of independence is reached. The broader concept of what constitutes functional literacy is the basis for the definition of the adult new reader in the investigation currently underway at the University of Wisconsin at Madison Library School. For the purposes of this research study the adult new reader is identified as follows: he is sixteen years of age or over, his native language is English or he is learning English as a second language, his formal education has not extended beyond the eleventh grade, and his reading level is at least at the eighth grade level.

Closely allied with the concept of literacy and reading is the purpose for reading. The attainment of skill is only a first step. Gray envisions the full attainment of the reading skills and abilities as leading to greater understanding of issues, solutions to problems and development of richer lives.[15] Literacy is viewed by Paulo Freire as a medium for the freedom of man.[16] The common conception exists that the literacy

process is the only educational method, is the source of spiritual and aesthetic enlightenment, and is the way to job placement and security.

Postman finds a basic assumption to be that "educational practices are profoundly political" and promote "certain modes of thinking and behavior." He proceeds in his iconoclastic analysis to assert that all activity of reading teachers is rooted in political bias, "for to teach reading, or even to promote vigorously the teaching of reading, is to take a definite political position on how people should behave and on what they ought to value."[17] He says that teachers promote the reading process as an essential skill. They believe that reading is neutral, prepares for vocations, opens minds to wonders, and is a pleasure. Postman believes otherwise. He thinks that reading is promoted for purposes of creating good consumers and obedient citizens, and perpetuating political and historical myths. In comparison with the electronic media, it is obsolete and reactionary, perpetuates ideas, and brainwashes minority groups. He proposes that the school ought to "be problem-centered, *and* future-centered, *and* change-centered; and, as such, would be an instrument of cultural and political radicalism."[18]

Much of what Postman says about reading teachers applies in many ways to librarians, and both need to find answers to the following questions: What is reading for? What motives are behind its promotion? How does it relate to helping adults achieve multi-media literacy? What are the goals to be? Should perhaps multi-media literacy be the goal sought with the aid of the new technology? Roberts in his article in this issue advocates this approach. Bloss's view of the library as a change agent reflects a similar philosophy.[19] The distinction is made more and more often between being able to read and being literate. O'Neil sees the only proper literacy as that which "extend[s] a man's control over his life and environment and allow[s] him to continue to deal rationally and in words with his life and decisions."[20]

Would many persons be better off if it were socially acceptable for large numbers not to read? Goodman suggests that "conceivably, *more people might become genuinely literate if it were understood that reading is a useful art with a proper subject matter, imagination and truth—not 'communication' of top down decisions and bad norms.*"[21]

Once the functionally illiterate adult has mastered the skills of literacy, he must develop the habit of the regular use of the printed word if the objectives of the literacy program are to be fulfilled. Bridging the gap between minimal literacy skills and the reading habit is essential

if the adult is to obtain, from the content of printed materials, the ideas and knowledge useful in his daily life.

A major obstacle to teaching and providing reading guidance to the adult who is developing his reading skills and habits is finding appropriate and interesting materials related to the new reader's interests and needs. Publishers are only beginning to produce special materials suitable to the interests of various groups. Uncertainty exists about what is needed and the extent of that need. Teachers, reading specialists, and librarians find difficulty in selecting materials because appropriate materials have not been identified in abundance. The development of adult basic education and job-training programs has increased the need for materials. These adult readers are a heterogeneous group composed of smaller, more homogeneous groups whose orientations to daily life, to reading, and to libraries differ significantly enough to require different materials within different contexts of use.[22]

The sociological and anthropological studies during the 1950s and 1960s contain significant information and concepts on poverty, the disadvantaged, and cultural deprivation. Their relation to library literacy programs and understanding of problems of materials for adults with limited reading abilities is evident in three discussions of the literature by Dalzell,[23] McCrossan,[24] and Stoffle.[25]

Social scientists and social agencies have had a somewhat obsessive concern with poverty in the United States since Harrington's *Other America* resulted in national attention to the Americans who are often invisible, suffering, and ignored. Dalzell compares and contrasts the "landmark works" of the 1960s. While relating their ideas and opinions to the library's philosophy of service, she concludes that the role of the library depends on the local situation. On the whole libraries lack precedent, preparation, and materials to do the job. The most baffling problem is the dearth of materials, particularly for beginning readers.

McCrossan reviews research on reading of Americans in the lower socio-economic group, i.e., "culturally disadvantaged" because of nonexistent or limited economic, educational, and social opportunities in comparison with the average citizen. He concludes that the research provides no conclusive answers to causal relationships between economic-social conditions of the disadvantaged and reading and library use. He found some evidence that they are less skilled readers, but that studies clearly show a large portion of our population, adults of low socio-economic status, make relatively little or no use of books and li-

braries. He concludes that the library profession needs to know more about readers who deviate from norms and reader interests, needs to provide individual reading guidance, and needs to expend great effort to achieve successful service.

In recognition of certain aspects of the problem, adult basic education and job-training programs have been developed. The programs have been oriented toward economic goals of increasing employment skills, placement in jobs, and decreasing welfare aid. Major federal legislation during the 1960s provided general basic education, vocational training, and job placement through the following acts: Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, amended 1963 and 1965; Vocational Act of 1963; Economic Opportunity Act, 1964, Title II B and Title V; Work Experience Program, 1965; National Science Foundation Act, 1963; Area Rehabilitation Act of 1961; Higher Education Act of 1963; Library Services and Construction Act, 1964; and Adult Education Act of 1966.

The purpose of the Adult Education Act of 1966 was to develop and expand basic educational programs for adults eighteen years of age and over. Amended in 1970, it was expanded to include all adults sixteen years of age and over who were below the college level of education. Adult basic education was defined as education for adults whose inability to speak, read, or write the English language constitutes a substantial impairment of their ability to get or retain employment commensurate with their real ability.[26] In 1969 adult basic education programs had a total of 484,626 students. Among 442,604, 30 percent were in beginning (1-3) grade level; 36 percent, intermediate (4-6); and 34 percent, advanced (7-8).[27] These three groups indicate potential users of a wide range of library materials.

With the advent of two world wars and subsequent conflicts, the problem of adult reading was further highlighted when the rejection of thousands of young men because of illiteracy or limited reading abilities stimulated the special training programs for men in the armed forces.[28] Remedial literacy programs were instituted which were successful within limited military purposes and conditions. In 1966, the Department of Defense revised the entrance standards for the military to accept men previously disqualified. The "New Standards" program for men, known as Project One Hundred Thousand, had among various objectives those of improving literacy, and competency in reading, arithmetic, and social studies. The inadequacy of the equation of reading level with grade level was reconfirmed when the median reading

ability by grade level was shown to be three to four grade levels below the mean level of school grades completed. Most men entering Project One Hundred Thousand upgraded their reading ability from the fourth grade to the sixth grade level. Eighty percent or more completed the course in a period of three to eight weeks.[29]

The concept of reading readiness—that to learn to read can be used at any age—was demonstrated in World War II U.S. Army literacy programs. It no longer can be assumed that all reading abilities are ready to be tapped at the age of six. Many servicemen failed to read until a readiness program was instituted.[30]

One of the most significant findings in much of the research reveals the importance of using meaningful subject matter in teaching the beginning adult new reader. Six major studies which are concerned with the native-born population indicate that materials for the adults have definite significant characteristics, e.g., U.S. Army studies,[28] Wayne County Basic Adult Education Program,[31] Norfolk State College Project,[32] Missouri Adult Vocational-Literacy Materials Development Project,[33] and the Buffalo Study of Adult City Core Illiterates.[34]

A valuable analysis of each study and a review of other relevant investigations are presented by Brown and Newman in the article, "Research in Adult Literacy."[35] All the studies were in general agreement that appropriate content for the adult population is imperative. All too frequently materials are inappropriate both in vocabulary and content. Utilitarian practical interests or subject areas to which adults relate strongly, e.g., vocations, family, community, self-improvement, are necessary. Modern content, recent knowledge and concepts, and adult and vocationally oriented materials are essential.

Brown and Newman found in their Buffalo study that it was necessary and desirable to develop supplementary materials both from an interest standpoint and from the need of extending the materials horizontally for the slower members of the group. Subjects of particular interest to adult-city core illiterates included: Langston Hughes's poetry, hints on careful buying, information about better jobs, selected readings from the Bible, biographical sketches, and topics of sociological interest. Readers were not interested generally in childish fantasy, humor, and animal-type stories, nor adult stories about sports, adventure, or travel. A positive relationship seemed to exist between preference for certain book titles and reading gain. The high achieving group tended to read more sophisticated materials than the low achieving group and showed greater interest in science, travel, sociological and

utilitarian topics. The use of relevant adult materials combining good format with content which meet the expressed needs are essential.

Berke, whose study preceded Brown and Newman's, found a disproportionate majority of illiterate adults among the black population because of complex causes of cultural discrimination, particularly in education. He found specific goals to be an important motivator. Reading preferences indicated a strong rejection of children's stories and "Dick and Jane" types of materials.[36]

Strong evidence was shown for the importance of using materials specially developed for adults and the limitations imposed by inappropriate materials in the 1965 research study on basic adult education programs conducted by the University of Detroit—Center for Continuing Education.

The Norfolk State College Experiment, a pioneer and pilot study in the training of hard-core unemployed, unskilled workers, is a success story with far-reaching effects. The levels of competence in basic language and number skills of the trainees fall into several categories: some had never been to school or had completed less than three grades, some had less than seven years of school, and some had high levels of schooling but low levels of competence. The upgrading of adult literacy often suffers from lack of motivation on the part of adults. Upgrading of technical skill levels of adults suffers from lack of adult literacy. These two problems were solved by the training pattern which meshed technical and general education training. The general education core consisted of the language arts, number skills, occupational information, and human relations coupled with assistance on daily family problems. The gain in reading ability for the men classified as functional illiterates was raised an average of 1.87 years. Some made gains of three years during the six months of training. "The crowning point of the Norfolk State experiment was the rising sense of dignity and worth in the men."[37]

The importance of appropriate reading selections and reading guidance is stressed by many researchers. Certainly no area presents more significant potential for library services than this area of service to readers improving and expanding their skills and interests. The adult literacy studies in Buffalo (New York), Missouri, Wayne County (Michigan), and Cook County (Illinois), found handicaps of inappropriate materials to be insurmountable. In the earlier study of the U.S. Army literacy program, Goldberg recommended that any civilian adult literacy program have a follow-up system even if only to forward reading ma-

terials to insure graduates with some continuous stimulation to use their newly acquired skills.[28] Accessibility and availability of materials coupled with plentiful opportunities for practice are essential ingredients of a complete literacy program. The evaluators of the Chicago literacy program raised other pertinent questions about the need for readily available reference and supplementary reading, the inadvisability of using children's materials, and the inaccuracy of standard reading level tests.[38]

Materials clearly present a continuing problem to the profession. Librarians increasingly are aware of the complexities of identifying, evaluating, and interpreting materials that will satisfy adults with varied interests and in the process of developing reading skills. The problem is documented in the first study of public library service to adult illiterates which was carried out under the auspices of the American Library Association, Adult Services Division, Committee on Reading Improvement for Adults. In field trips to fifteen cities, literacy training was observed and the role of the library in relation to the training was evaluated. MacDonald found librarians participating in many ways in the various adult educational literacy programs. The lack of effective appropriate materials was the most critical need because inferior or inappropriate materials often had to be resorted to by teachers and libraries. All too frequently juvenile materials were supplied for adults. MacDonald recommended immediate action to compile bibliographies of easy reading materials and the testing and evaluating of materials.[39]

Several reading lists for adults beginning to read were compiled in spite of many subject area gaps, poor formats, and inadequacies. O'Brien noted other deficiencies—uneven quality, lack of materials of the kind that give pleasure and satisfaction while developing reading skills, and the dependence on juvenile materials. "The Library and Adult Literacy," a special issue of the *Wilson Library Bulletin,* brought together the knowledge and experience of many experts, including accounts on current methods of instruction and types of books suitable for use. It served as a stimulus to further developments in the public library field.[40] The reading list, "Books for Adults Beginning to Read," and a supplement was published.[41]

It appears that, in spite of special bibliographies and various library programs, the same problem exists six years later. Librarians still express concern, alarm, and fear in trying to develop reading collections for literacy programs and adult illiterates. The need for new materials and the failure to identify a broader range of materials persist. Many collections are being developed on principles expressed by Warren, a

literacy librarian responsible for the Dallas program of assembling demonstration collections of materials and sample collections specially tailored to needs and interests of teachers and readers. She points out, "it has been necessary . . . to order materials largely on intuition, buttressed here and there with limited experience and standard lists developed by other libraries and agencies. . . . [although] we have included a variety of other-than-standard materials in our beginning demonstration collection."[42]

Martin analyzes the Baltimore Public Library's potential for service to economically and culturally underprivileged citizens in his study based on interviews of a sample of nearly 200 householders in the population and a review of Enoch Pratt Free Library's history of adult service.[43] He defines the typical disadvantaged person, whether a reader or nonreader, as one who is not born into a reading family, has a limited education, and does not participate in community institutions and activities. His study data, he concludes, confirm the fact that Baltimore residents of limited cultural and educational background do not turn easily to books and libraries, although admittedly many readers break out of this statistical pattern.

Martin further concludes that librarians should give first priority to the identification and analysis of reading materials for the disadvantaged since librarians are society's experts in reading materials. He recommends a strong program with an "opportunity library" of special materials, informational kits, and library centers. Reading programs are currently handicapped by the sparsity of suitable reading materials, the emphasis in libraries on materials of a middle class nature, and the lack of materials which combine simplicity of reading level with maturity of content.[43]

Regardless of how the disadvantaged population is characterized, numerous studies have established that either totally or in part it is a most important segment of the population for which a library service program is required. Service to this neglected area and these persons is a key recommendation in Martin's 1969 study of the Chicago Public Library.[44] This study constitutes the major survey of every aspect of public library service to the large urban community. The research design and data collection included an unusually wide range of approaches—interviews with users and staff, extensive field work and observation, study of records of all kinds, and investigation of every aspect of the functioning library.

Martin emphasizes again and again the neglect of adults in the

ghetto areas. The less educated among the black and white population and the young and the old must be considered. Ethnic groups are large. At the time of the study the Spanish-speaking group comprised 4 percent of the population. It is projected that the black population by 1984 will constitute 50 percent of the city, if present trends continue.[44]

He concludes that materials need to be easily accessible and flexible, that it is necessary "to mobilize and intensify service" with special resources such as a center of learning materials, specialists on the staff, special publications, vans with special informational materials, and publications of utilitarian value. He further recommends a "republication office" to take resources where simplified presentations are lacking and prepare them in leaflet, folder, or pamphlet form for use in the ghetto areas.[45]

Changes in society and technological advances create new demands on individuals. New social awareness, findings in sociological and reading studies, programs in adult basic education and job training, and the impetus given by support available from federal and state funds have combined to influence library service in the last decade. The response in library practice, particularly in public and school libraries, has been the creation of new programs and the extension of services for adults improving their reading skills and using reading materials. Libraries have provided three types of service: (1) the provision of materials and guidance in their use is primary; (2) a few engage in teaching or tutoring programs for illiterates; (3) and others extend or initiate services to institutions and groups, as well as individuals. Programs have flourished and disappeared. Some are absorbed into regular service and readapted. From Brooklyn to Los Angeles, Kalamazoo to Corpus Christi, in Rochester, Buffalo, St. Louis, Dallas, Northport, Oakland, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, special programs exist. A few of the major programs have had a research or evaluative component.

The Fader experiment with young men in institutional and school settings, through the fusion of program development and research evaluation in questions of teaching literacy in public schools, brought new ideas and changes. Fader's saturation and diffusion concepts succeeded where the rigid educational system failed. The focus on creating a learning situation with relevant reading throughout the curricula; with the use of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, paperbacks; with the freedom of choice; and with access to guidance, resulted in young men reading at a level of literacy previously unapproached. Fader proved that modification of attitude toward reading and writing would lead to

changes in performance and to greater skill. He let books speak for themselves and showed that content in print media can be meaningful in the lives of young men.[46]

Hiatt, in his study based on interviews with adults of eighth grade education or less at two urban branch libraries, found an important factor in the use of the public library by readers of limited education to be the continued adaptation of the materials which make the collection an integral part of services. Collections must be kept up to date and constantly matched to the needs of their changing neighborhoods. Collections must be selected with close attention to content in relation to new trends, new interests, readable books for adult students, individual selections to meet individual needs and interests, and special foreign-language materials.[47]

The Reading Improvement Program, initiated at the Brooklyn Public Library in 1955 as an experimental research program, was designed to discover whether a free program to improve the reading ability of adults might be effectively carried on in a library setting with the collaboration of a local college.[48] This goal was demonstrated successfully and a manual was developed to assist librarians in carrying on the program.

The Reading Improvement Program became primarily a group developmental reading course for college graduates who were good readers mainly interested in improving reading speed and comprehension. Remedial reading groups were few because only a few of the applicants were at second or fourth grade level. Gradually more and more functional illiterates, defined as persons reading at less than the sixth grade level, were given more time individually and in groups.[49]

Keller, who worked in the Reading Improvement Program from the beginning, is convinced that counseling and guidance are inseparable from remedial teaching. His accumulated knowledge about materials and readers' problems constitutes a unique contribution. He uses, in particular, workbooks, dictionaries, series of remedial readers simplified classics, Science Research Associates materials and the Initial Teaching Alphabet system. The resources of the library collection are drawn upon constantly. Keller concludes that the volume of reading is important because it exposes the reader to an endless repetition of hundreds of words, gives him practice, arouses enjoyment and appreciation of reading. He believes that nothing helps overcome the regression common to poor readers better than this type of extended reading.[50]

Brooklyn's unique program, extending over a period of more than

fifteen years with a dedicated and exprienced readers' adviser, has tested an administrative pattern, and philosophy and methods of teaching applicable to more advanced readers. Its goal of demonstrating the possibility that libraries throughout the country might initiate reading improvement programs, with college or university assistance, has not resulted in other programs. It is also unclear whether the findings based chiefly on reading improvement of the more advanced reader group are common to the remedial reading group.

The Reading Center Program at the Cleveland (Ohio) Public Library served the disadvantaged population and specifically the functionally illiterate or limited reader in the Cleveland community. Three reading centers assisted 500 Clevelanders to read better and provided materials for the board of education's adult basic education classes. In the experimental library program, adults were tutored by a special library staff. Barensfeld, director of the project, in his review of it emphasizes the fact that "the functional illiterate—or, if you prefer, the limited, disadvantaged, reluctant, semi-literate, poor, or nonreader—represents no one level of attainment or nonattainment but a whole spectrum of abilities and disabilities."[51] The Cleveland Public Library evaluated and tested materials and published bibliographies. Although the teaching of adults was successful, this part of the program was not continued.

In Baltimore the Enoch Pratt Free Library, in continuing its traditional patterns of service but modifying to meet other needs, built a library service component into the community action program of Baltimore. This allowed the library to reach into the most deprived areas of the city, to integrate service with community branches, and later to integrate similar service into a new reorganization plan. Paperback racks and library room collections were placed throughout the neighborhood centers. The library's most successful efforts in working with adults have been in practical ways. Easy reading materials, largely job and skill oriented, are used in cooperation with the city's adult basic education program. Books and reading must be relevant to immediate concerns. Black literature and black authors were popular.[52]

The Neighborhood Center Program of the New Haven Public Library is based on the premise that the library has a unique service in diffusion of knowledge through materials, personnel, and methods. The experimental demonstration project explored new ways of bringing books and other media of communication to bear upon individual and community needs for increased skills in communication and life enrich-

ment. There is no trace of paternalism or doing good which is discernable in some other reports. It includes no philosophy of lifting up the masses.[53]

The function and purpose defined for the library will be carried out and reflected in the kind of multi-media materials asssembled. Bloss, director at New Haven, conceives of the library as a change agent, a community cultural center, as well as data bank and literature depository. Such an idea is powerful enough to change the type of collections traditionally found in libraries. This philosophy of community librarianship requires a belief in diffusion of knowledge and in the power of ideas. Bloss asks who is disadvantaged and suggests that possibly it is the librarians and the libraries that are disadvantaged because they fail to know what is in the communication collection.[54]

Purpose and practice at New Haven have proved successful in one critical area, that is, demonstration and extended services have been continued with local support. People understand that "the centers in New Haven are not branch libraries with programs for the disadvantaged added on as something extra, but are centers for people to pursue their own interests in a reasonably free and open setting with some help from library personnel."[55]

The public library programs for the disadvantaged in New York State at Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse are major sources for information and insights on materials for persons in the ghetto areas of cities. Clift, in his study of these programs, reports many facts about materials. The titles of the Buffalo and Erie County *Blacklists* indicate areas of interest to blacks: the origin of the Negro, mother Africa, black slavery, contributions of black people, roots of blackness in America, black power and black nationalism, plays and poems, novels and short stories. Clift recommends larger collections of paperbacks and magazines. Materials should reflect local interests and needs in subject areas on economic and vocational improvement, consumer education, health, family life, black heritage, community resources information, and foreign languages.[56]

The difficulty of measuring accurately readability levels of materials and reaching achievement levels of readers has become evident. The problem becomes paramount and demands solutions as soon as further research can find the answer. A lack of reliability and validity of the present measures or formulas is recognized. Although rejected by some, at the same time widespread use is made of the formulas. A complete summary of readability research and its implications is Klare's *The Measurement of Readability.*[57]

Criteria for evaluation of reading materials are a major problem. Several attempts have been made to develop criteria both for instructional and supplementary reading materials. Otto and Ford developed a "yes or no" checklist of fifty items concerning the materials, e.g., materials have adult appearance, are programmed, present citizenship or civic responsibility content, have attractive layout design.[58]

Barnes and Hendrickson established criteria for the evaluation of materials for use with individuals learning to read. Some of the criteria included: publishers' use level, standardized readability formula place, classification in terms of basic or supplementary use, format and content appeal, and special features. They found that the materials were being used in basic education programs at three levels to which they arbitrarily assigned approximate grade levels: initial instruction (grade one through three); expansion of reading skills (grades four through six); and broad development of reading skills (grades seven and over). They concluded that there is no one ideal material. Instructional materials with a high degree of adult interest are available at the same time there is great need for materials produced by teachers to fit individual needs.[59]

The Library Materials Research Project at the University of Wisconsin at Madison Library School on materials for adult new readers has developed a materials analysis criteria checklist. It includes five major areas necessary to critical analysis of materials for the adult new reader:

1. bibliographic items, i.e., author, publisher, format, type of literature;
2. content analysis, i.e., roles, subject areas, and attitudes and values found in the material;
3. measurement of readability, i.e., typography, printing surfaces, special features, learning aids, language, and measurement of readability by formula;
4. appeal to readers; and
5. a quantitative evaluation, i.e., a numerical rating scale.

Publishing trends show a shift from the general reader interests to special interests. The tastemakers are no longer confined to the major and semi-major publishing firms. Special groups, particularly ethnic ones, are influencing the change. Established firms, possibly overly concerned with profits and consolidation and fearful or unknowing of new subject interests, have lost leadership.[60]

A new freedom and unprecedented technological developments have made it possible for groups, even individuals, to publish easily.

Local and underground publishers are publishing books, leaflets, and newspapers. Small specialized publishing houses are emerging which represent the black population, Chicanos, and American Indians. The approaches and policies of these publishers, as well as their first publications, give hope that the desperate need for authentic ethnic materials will be met. They promise to change a situation in which they feel their cultures are misrepresented, where misinformation is customary, and where peoples are degraded. Trade publishers and librarians also are finding new authors and identifying interests that lead them to new publishing ventures.[61]

These wider sources of materials and potential readers will furnish new materials and bring new users to library programs. Librarians in turn must find new criteria for analysis and evaluation of materials. Racism, biases, and misconceptions are perpetuated in many books. Librarians contribute to this situation through ignorance, insensitivity, and imposition of personal values. All writings must be scrutinized to assure that library collections have authentic material, and all librarians must analyze materials in detail to give honest appraisals and informed objective reading guidance.

Ironically the focus on literacy is at a time when many social scientists, librarians, and educators think that in a time of multi-electronic communication, reading belongs to another age. Supporters of reading are thought by some critics to be engaged in political activity scarcely worthy of political morality. Others look to the decade of the 1970s as one in which complete literacy will be achieved through the nationwide right to read program.

Attempts to raise the standards of literacy are complicated as the concept of literacy broadens. What does illiteracy mean? What is the purpose of reading? How can literacy enable persons to control their own self-development and gain educational and personal satisfaction?

No one in the library field seems as yet to have solved the problem of accurately appraising reading levels in materials or of matching the print material to that of readers' abilities, skills, and interests. There is recognition that literacy requires more highly developed skills, abilities, and measurement, than schooling or intuition provides. A growing literature of research and evaluation related to reading and use of materials is found in the fields of reading, linguistics, literacy, social sciences, and librarianship.

A growing segment of librarians are for the first time aware of their responsibility to persons with limited reading abilities. No longer does

certainty exist that libraries are simply for those who come in to read or borrow print materials. At the same time there exists a continuation of historical concern that public libraries serve young people and adults with less advantages. Recognition of the need for reading materials to meet interests and needs of a population defined in a variety of ways as disadvantaged, deprived, functionally illiterate, dropouts, non-readers, and unreached will hopefully lead to improved service.

In general, changes in materials service seem to be in large urban libraries with histories of serving and reaching new groups in the community. The efforts of socially conscious, dedicated librarians have played a particularly strong role. A trend to coordinate library materials service with other programs in adult education and job training frequently results in dependency on the cooperating agencies' programs.

Certain themes run throughout the studies and social consciousness of researchers—the failure of school systems; the technological changes that eradicate skills and jobs; the direct relation between poverty, welfare, and illiteracy; the urgent need for the appropriate materials essential to effective library service; and the major problem of setting the issue within the proper perspective in a society where electronic communication is pervasive.

Although little is truly different or revolutionary, the response to everyday pressures and change has resulted in willingness to extend materials service, to find new sources of materials, to create materials, and to bring them to readers. Only an intensive effort by librarians throughout the next decade can even begin to solve the problem of reading materials for adults of limited reading abilities.

Librarians must ask for evidence of the value of materials. Are they what they purport to be? Will libraries stock the unknown, the revolutionary, the different, the ethnic materials, the materials to span the range of reading interests at all reading levels? The philosophical commitments, the assumptions and concepts librarians accept will determine the nature of their reading collections. The future promises to libraries and librarians the opportunity of enabling adults to become mature independent users of print in a way that truly satisfies their interests and needs.

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Library Service to the Handicapped and Institutionalized

GENEVIEVE M. CASEY

WITHIN THE LAST FEW YEARS, the library profession, like most others, has discovered a new level of social conscience. Individually and institutionally we have begun to rethink the concept of "equal access" to which we have long given lip service, and to realize that there is more to access than being there in the same old buildings, manned by the same old guard, offering the same old services. We are taking seriously the principle of accountability to our supporting governmental bodies and, even more seriously, accountability to our users, actual and potential. We are growing to understand that an often marginal impact on somewhere between 10 and 25 percent of the total community is just not enough.

With our newly opened hearts and eyes, we are taking a new look at our public library users. Frequently we see an ever-narrowing circle of white, middle class, well educated, affluent, independent adults and an also declining number of elementary and high school students who now tend to use their improved school media centers. We are pondering, also, our non-users—the non-reading, under-educated, poor, socially deprived, culturally different, often black or Chicano residents of central cities—for whom we have yet to devise a meaningful pattern of library service.

One segment of the public library's vast untapped clientele to which we are now paying more attention is the handicapped, the aged, the institutionalized, and the shut-in, people who cannot come to us either because they are literally locked up in mental hospitals and prisons, or because they are just as actually locked into their own immediate environments by physical or mental disabilities.

Although stereotypes are dangerous, we know that many of this seg-

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ment of the library's public are people who are disadvantaged by any definition one cares to use. They are frequently poor—so drastically poor that their possessions are limited to what will remain unstolen in the drawer of a bedside table, so poor that their world is encompassed by the dimensions of one hospital bed, the length and width of a grave, one small prison cell or the four walls of one room. They are often less educated than our traditional middle class patrons, forced by their situations to a narrower range of experience and hope. Many of them are aged, eking out miserable existences on small pensions, social security or old age assistance, on incomes well below the poverty level. Some cannot use our conventional printed materials because of physical, mental or emotional impairment. We know too little about this silent minority, but experience has shown that when the library does reach out to them, they respond with eagerness.

This article will explore what libraries have done and are doing to serve this special group of the disadvantaged and what they might do in the future. It is based upon information supplied by Margaret Hannigan, consultant for the Bureau of Libraries and Educational Technology of the U.S. Office of Education, and reports in library literature during the last five years. Mary Grace Donnelly, a graduate student at Wayne State University, conducted the literature search.

It is difficult to compartmentalize the handicapped and institutionalized into those who are blind and physically handicapped, those who are aged, those who are mentally ill, and those who are criminal or delinquent, although many federal programs ask us to do so. Over half of the blind and visually handicapped, for example, are aged, as indeed are many (but not all) shut-ins. Patients shut in at home are not very different from those confined in large or small nursing or convalescent homes, although serving the former may be a little more expensive for the library. Hospital service requires much the same skill and organization, whether the hospital is a mental hospital, a geriatric facility or a general hospital. It must be understood, therefore, that the following discussion of library services to the physically handicapped categorized by type of institution and handicap is necessarily artificial.

HOSPITAL SERVICE

Service to hospitalized patients has a long history. In the second century A.D. a library for patients at Pergamum was reported. In the thirteenth century, at the Al Mansur Hospital in Cairo, the Koran was read to the patients as an aid to recovery. In 1796 in York, the Quaker

Hospital for the Mentally Ill established a library for patients, and, as early as 1821, Massachusetts General Hospital provided for its patients a library of "amusing and interesting books."[1] The first organized program of home delivery to shut-ins (by horse and buggy) was reported by the public library in Springfield, Massachusetts in 1901. In the United States, as in England, service to hospital patients achieved a higher level of professional competence during and after World War I with the establishment of libraries for the troops and later for hospitalized veterans. For many years thereafter, the largest number of professionally staffed libraries for patients, in the United States, were located in veterans' hospitals.[2]

Within their professional organizations, librarians have evidenced interest in service to inmates of hospitals and institutions for almost forty years. As early as 1932, the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) established a committee on hospitals, which in a later reorganization became a subsection of the Public Libraries Section. This group has written and endorsed a statement of international standards for hospital libraries intended as a guide for those countries which have not articulated their own standards.[3] The document calls upon librarians working in hospitals to form professional organizations within the library associations of each country, in order to keep the entire profession informed of the need for improved service to staff and patients and to press for action.

In 1956, the Association of Hospital and Institution Libraries (AHIL) was formed within the American Library Association and, as of January 31, 1971, numbers 1,675 members, most of them librarians working in private, state and federal hospitals, and public and state librarians who administer service to patients in hospitals and institutions. From 1956 until 1960, the association produced the *Hospital and Institution Book Guide*, which was then superceded by the more general *Hospital and Institutions Quarterly*. Other American library associations which work closely with AHIL are the Medical Library Association, the library section of the American Hospital Association and the health sciences unit of the Catholic Library Association. Most state library associations also include a division or section for hospital, institution and/or medical librarians. The United Hospital Fund in New York City is a unique organization of city health care personnel which includes in its activities the encouragement of better library service.

What has all this organizational activity accomplished in concrete service to shut-ins, to patients in hospitals, or to inmates of correctional institutions?

In the first place, standards have been articulated. The most recent edition of the *Standards for Library Services in Health Care Institutions,* approved by the American Library Association, Medical and Special Library Associations, includes in its broad scope "hospitals and other institutions established for the diagnosis and treatment of both long-term and short-term patients, research centers, nursing homes, day care centers, outpatient clinics, convalescent homes, rehabilitation centers and home care programs."[4] Considering patients' libraries as well as staff libraries as a part of overall patient care, the standards recommend an integrated hospital library program under the direction of one library administrator aided by two advisory committees, one for the health science library and the other for the patients' library. The patients' library committee should include members "capable of evaluating the library's role in patient therapy as well as those expert in public library services."[5] Liaison is stressed with the local public library as well as with the state library.

The objectives of the patients' library, according to the standards, are to provide "education, diversion or therapy, singly or in combination, and as appropriate for the individual patient" through selectively developed materials and programs.[6] Among the services recommended to meet this objective are book cart service for the non-ambulatory, readers' advisory and reference services with referrals to the public library and other community agencies, group activities such as discussion groups, storytelling, and literacy instruction, the "active participation in and encouragement of library programs related to the educational, therapeutic, and rehabilitation services of the institution,"[7] and the development of deposit collections in clinics, waiting rooms, dayrooms, etc. The standards recommend that libraries for patients should be multi-media, containing audiovisual as well as printed materials.

Affirming that one of the purposes of the library is to support the treatment program, the standards state that "every opportunity should be taken to coordinate reading for an individual patient with the goals set for him by treatment personnel."[7]

Despite the standards, most state hospitals have provided almost no service to patients and most hospitals in cities and towns depend upon the public library for such service as is available. In fact, Barbara Johnson, librarian of Harper Hospital in Detroit, takes the position that the *primary* responsibility for service to hospital patients rests with the local public library.[8]

The degree to which the health care standards for patients' library service are met in hospitals throughout the United States has not been

documented, but it would be safe to assume that quality service is the exception rather than the rule, whether the service is provided by the hospitals themselves or by public libraries.

It has been estimated that most public libraries in the United States offer some measure of service to patients in their community hospitals and custodial institutions, and that about one-third of them attempt some service to people shut in at home.[9]

Typical of the best of public library service to the institutionalized and shut-in is that offered by the Cleveland Public Library, begun in 1941 with an endowment from the Judd Fund of the Cleveland Foundation. The service grew out of an earlier Works Projects Administration (WPA) program which had operated through the branches of the Cleveland Public Library and has in recent years also received federal support under the Older Americans Act. Each person, whether in an institution or shut in at home, is visited once or twice a month, usually by a librarian. Lifetime case records are maintained on the reading interests of each patient, and although the service does maintain its own special collection of several thousand volumes, all the resources of the Cleveland Public Library are drawn upon. In 1969, the Cleveland Public Library was serving most of the hospitals and institutions in the city and over 12,000 homebound persons. The Cleveland service reflects the humane intelligence and professional competence of its director of many years, Clara Lucioli, and has served as a model for similar services in public libraries as close as Detroit and as far away as Malmo, Sweden.

A few city libraries have received federal aid either through the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) Title I or through the Older Americans Act for service to patients in hospitals and at home. Since 1965, the Los Angeles Public Library has been funded by a grant under LSCA Title I to experiment with the most effective way to serve patients shut in at home or in institutions. The library has tested deposit service in institutions, individual visits to homebound patients, the use of community aides, a Vista worker and volunteers as well as librarians. In general, the Los Angeles Public Library found a greater demand for the service than had been anticipated, and that the ratio of staff to patron must be significantly higher than in ordinary "walk-in" library service.[10]

With a federal grant of $53,310, the St. Louis Public Library in 1967 began a pilot program to bring library services to the 82,000 residents of the city who were over 65 and unable to come to the library. A spe-

cially equipped vehicle and a basic collection of 25,000 volumes including many large print books, periodicals and art reproductions were acquired. Individuals in thirty institutions—housing complexes, hospitals for the aged and chronically ill, as well as private homes—are now visited. Requests are taken by telephone as well as in person during the visits.[11]

The public library in Poughkeepsie, New York under a grant from the Older Americans Act has established a unique service for senior citizens, the "Literary Social Guild for the Homebound."[12] Instead of home visits, a bus, staffed with a driver and an assistant, transports the homebound to the library for regularly scheduled programs which provide refreshments, the opportunity to socialize with each other and the library staff, and to borrow books. In addition to films, the programs have featured book discussions, a performance by a local dance school and even a teen-age rock band. The project has been received with enthusiasm by its participants, some of whom had not been out of their houses for eight years.

PRISON SERVICE

Although service to hospital patients, to the aged, and to other shut-ins is far from adequate in most communities, service to prisoners until very recently has been disgraceful and desperate.

After a 1959 survey of correctional institution libraries which documented that most of them were little more than collections of recreational reading of doubtful value, the American Library Association and the American Correctional Association collaborated on a statement of "Objectives and Standards for Libraries in Correctional Institutions"[13] first published in 1962. It was hoped that these minimum standards would form the basis for state-mandated standards, would encourage interagency cooperation, and would provide a broad minimum base for correctional library programs. The standards were revised in 1966.[14]

The basic purpose of the correctional library, according to the standards, is to "contribute to the development of individuals [prisoners] and their restoration, as creative members of society, to the community." To achieve this objective, "libraries in a correctional situation have a clear responsibility to support, broaden, and strengthen the institution's total rehabilitation program."[15]

In order to implement the institution's mission of education, vocational training and rehabilitation, the standards define the library's role as follows: (1) to provide vocational information; (2) to enlarge social

and reading backgrounds; (3) to develop reading as a satisfying leisure-time activity, a therapeutic release from strain, and a positive aid in substituting new interests for undesirable attitudes; and (4) to prepare the individual, through his own efforts, for release and post-prison life.[16] The standards detail the responsibility of the library to provide information services to the institution staff as well as the inmates. They stress the importance of a "cooperative working relationship"[17] between the library and other divisions of the institution as well as with other libraries in the community.

The standards assert that the principles contained in the Library Bill of Rights should determine the book selection policy of correctional libraries, and that they should provide standard library materials such as are found in any strong school or community library. Since most inmate populations include a high percentage of functional illiterates, materials for adult beginning readers should be stressed in the collection.

The library should be "organized and administered by a professional librarian, trained and experienced both in librarianship and correctional work,"[17] with adequate supportive staff. In quantitative, as well as qualitative terms, the standards spell out minimum size of collection, budget, staffing, facilities, equipment and access. The document concludes with a directory of state library agencies with which correction authorities should cooperate in providing library service to the state's prisoners.

Since their adoption, the standards for correctional libraries have indeed been used by most states as a yardstick to document the woeful condition of their prison libraries and as the basis for plans made jointly by the state libraries and correction departments for library improvement. A study of correctional libraries today, to bring the 1959 survey up to date, would almost certainly reveal that some improvement has been made, that prison libraries continue to have a low priority in both state library and state corrections budgets, and that few if any correctional libraries in the United States have achieved the minimum standards.

SERVICE TO THE HANDICAPPED

State responsibility for library service to the handicapped and institutionalized received great impetus with the enactment of Titles IV A and B of LSCA in 1966. This legislation provided matching funds to be administered by the state library agencies for library service to state institutions (IV A) and to the blind and physically handicapped (IV

B). Both titles require that funds be expended according to a long-range plan, reached with the help of a representative advisory committee. Although appropriations have never reached anything close to the authorized amount which would be required to initiate quality service, significant beginnings have been made. Later in this article the contribution of Title IV B to service to the blind and visually handicapped will be discussed.

Because of Title IV A, every state library, at the very least, has now appointed a consultant responsible for fostering library service to what must be the most neglected group of people in the world—the residents of state institutions. Every state has adopted a set of goals for improved service and has begun, slowly, to work toward them. Most states have used their limited funds to deposit collections of books (commonly paperbacks and/or reference materials) in all or most of the mental and correctional institutions in the state and to conduct inservice training for non-professional or inmate help in the libraries. Consultants have worked with administrators of state institutions to persuade them to improve facilities, to allocate funds for new books and periodicals, and to hire professional staff. In a few states, such as Michigan, these efforts have borne fruit in the form of a professional position or two being established for the first time. Although beginnings must be made, many of these efforts seem "too little and too late." Frequently they overlook the fact that books alone, no matter how well chosen, do not constitute library service.

In at least two states, Louisiana and New York, federal funds have been concentrated on pilot programs to create an example of quality library service and of what it can accomplish.[18] In Louisiana, a model library at the State Penitentiary was established with the allocation of $24,000 by the State Library and $24,000 by the Department of Institutions. Five thousand new books were purchased the first year. A librarian from the State Library was loaned for two years with the understanding that the position would be supported from then on by the Department of Institutions. After the two-year establishment period the State Library then turned its energy (and federal support) to another state institution.

In New York, with a grant of $20,000 in LSCA Title IV A funds, the Kings Park State Hospital, a mental hospital with 7,500 patients, developed a model library, and then conducted a carefully structured demonstration on what good library service can do for the psycho-social development of culturally deprived and emotionally disturbed children.

The results were noticeable, and during the second part of the eight-month demonstration period, similar experiments were conducted with adults. A full range of library services such as reading guidance, film programs, discussion groups and field trips were offered to adult patients. The project proved so successful that it was incorporated into the regular hospital program (and budget). Additional professional staff were hired to continue working with child and adult patients and to initiate similar services for adolescents in the hospital.

The extension of the Library Services and Construction Act, enacted in December of 1970, has consolidated Title IV A and B into the general "Library Services" title, with the provision that not less may be expended for service to the blind and physically handicapped and to state institutions than had been expended under Title IV. Whether most states will expand their commitment to library services in state institutions beyond the minimum matching funds remains a question. Libraries in most institutions are still so minimal that substantial funds would be necessary for many years to bring them up to reasonable quality.

In October 1970 the Regents of the University of the State of New York led the rest of the nation in a landmark policy statement on "Library Service for Residents of Health, Welfare, and Correctional Institutions," affirming that:

> it is just as essential for residents of the health, welfare, and correctional institutions of the state to have convenient access to a wide range of print and nonprint media as it is for the general public. [And that] Government has a responsibility . . . to help these less fortunate people become useful citizens. . . . The Regents . . . recommend the establishment of a cooperative library system to provide supportive services, directly and by contract, to the libraries in institutions, those maintained by New York State as well as those operated by local government and other agencies, such cooperative library systems to be eligible for state aid under a legislative formula. In addition the State should explore the possible advantages of contracting with public library systems and school systems for service to residents of some of the institutions.[19]

If the policy of the regents is implemented and if other states follow New York's leadership, new doors will open all over the United States for people shut in at home or in hospitals or other institutions.

SERVICE TO THE HANDICAPPED

In 1966 Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress, testified that there were approximately 2 million Americans prevented by handicaps from

using conventional printed materials. Of these, 400,000 were blind, 600,000 partially sighted, 4,700 without the use of their arms, 8,000 without fingers and toes, 1,600 in iron lungs and other respiratory devices, and as many as 750,000 with neurological disabilities. Four out of ten of these handicapped persons were under twenty and of these, only one-fourth were receiving special education. One out of ten handicapped persons was over sixty-five. Mumford estimated that only 25 percent of these 2 million handicapped persons presently receive library services.[20]

Although no knowledgeable person would consider that library services to the blind and visually handicapped are perfect, or excellent, or even adequate, nevertheless service to this group is one of the most highly developed and most highly rationalized among all special services for the handicapped.

Service to the blind has long roots. In Japan, in the ninth century, a system of touch reading was in use. In the early nineteenth century, Louis Braille in France and William Moon in England developed their systems of embossed letters, to be "read" with the fingers, which continue in use today. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, national libraries for the blind were established in Great Britain, France and the Scandinavian countries.

A braille library for university students which in 1969 reported over 380,000 volumes and two branches, opened in London in 1868. In 1901 a braille music lending library was founded in Britain.

In 1919, the South African Library for the Blind was founded as a "replica in miniature of the National Library for the Blind in Britain." Providing material in braille and moon, as well as on records and tape cassettes, this library serves blind readers in the Republic of South Africa, Southwest Africa, Rhodesia, Swaziland, Zambia and Nigeria, and is interesting because it includes books in Bantu as well as in English and Afrikaans.[21] It now cooperates with the Library of Congress Division for the Blind and Physically Handicapped.

In the United States, concern for the reading needs of the blind came even earlier than in Europe and Africa. In 1858, the American Printing House for the Blind was chartered to provide at cost, embossed books to meet the demand for materials from schools and institutes. In 1879, Congress appropriated the first funds to this agency. The Boston Public Library has the distinction of being the first public library to initiate service to the blind in 1868. In 1897, a reading room for the blind was opened at the Library of Congress, and in 1904, Con-

gress passed the provision for free mailing of books to and from blind readers in all parts of the U.S.

In 1931, the Pratt-Smoot Act initiated the American system of regional libraries for the blind by authorizing the Library of Congress to provide books for the use of adult blind residents of the United States, including the several states, territories, insular possessions and the District of Columbia. Over the years amendments and modifications have been made to this legislation to enable services to children as well as to adults and to provide materials in various forms—braille, tape, records, etc. The most recent liberalization occurred in 1966 when Congress extended access to resources for the blind to all persons whose physical handicaps prevent their use of conventional printed materials.

The Division for the Blind and Physically Handicapped at the Library of Congress designates libraries throughout the United States to serve as distributing agencies for its materials. Assisted by the American Foundation for the Blind and the American Printing House for the Blind (which now concentrates on producing educational materials, rather than general literature), the Library of Congress assumes responsibility for selecting materials, producing them in a variety of forms (braille, talking books and tape), and supplying them, along with necessary machines and bibliographical aids such as bi-monthly reviews of new books in braille and records. The Library of Congress also assumes responsibility for stimulating and conducting research on library service to the visually handicapped, and for leadership and coordination of the total program.

The forty-six regional libraries, located in state library agencies or in large public libraries, provide the staff, space and other facilities to make available to local citizens the materials provided by the Library of Congress. Some states such as Ohio, Michigan and California have more than one regional library within their borders. Other small or sparsely populated states, such as West Virginia or Wyoming, contract with regional libraries in neighboring states.

In 1966 another important legislative milestone was reached with the addition of Title IV B to the Library Services and Construction Act. Administered by the U.S. Office of Education rather than by the Library of Congress, this legislation provided funds to the states for the improvement of library services to the blind and physically handicapped. Funds needed to be matched by state or local expenditures, and had to be spent according to a state plan reached with the help of a representative advisory council.

Since the Pratt-Smoot law was liberalized, and Title IV B provided federal funds to the states, fourteen additional regional libraries have opened and services offered in most states have become better planned and more professionally conducted. At least one librarian in each state has assumed responsibility for the library needs of the blind and physically handicapped, and in many states staffing at the regional libraries has been significantly improved. Contacts have been made with hospitals, residential homes, schools and other institutions for the handicapped.[22]

In an effort to inform eligible readers about services available to them, many regional libraries have published newsletters and brochures addressed to the blind and handicapped. The Delaware State Library produced a thirty-minute film, "That All May Read," to be shown throughout the state.[23] Arizona outfitted a "talking bookmobile" with materials for the handicapped, and demonstrated with it throughout the state. Needham (Massachusetts) Public Library published (in 18 point print) a brochure on service to the handicapped which was mailed to 3,000 residents sixty years of age and older, and to all physicians, optometrists, clergymen and shut-ins in the community.

The New York Public Library produced spot announcements addressed to blind readers on tape, and played them over local radio stations.[24] In Minnesota on a state talking book radio network, the morning newspaper, current magazines, short stories and children's books are read from 7:00 a.m. until midnight.[25]

Other states, like Texas, Maryland and Illinois, have used LSCA Title IV B funds to place small collections of talking, braille and large print books in public libraries. This activity is important as an effort to involve the local library in direct service to the blind and to facilitate closer liaison between local libraries, the regional libraries and the Division for the Blind and Physically Handicapped at the Library of Congress. It provides the blind with a personal dimension of reading guidance which can seldom be reached through phone or mail communication.

Some states like Ohio and California have conducted state-wide surveys[26] of library service to the blind and visually handicapped, leading to a plan for improvement. The objectives and scope of these studies are well expressed in the Ohio contract with Kent State University: (a) to establish the number and location of handicapped in the state, (b) to survey the library needs of the handicapped and the library services presently being offered, and (c) to make recommendations for

the improved organization of services to the handicapped throughout the state.[27] In 1968, Nelson Associates conducted an evaluation of the services of the Division for the Blind and Physically Handicapped.

Many states have also expended LSCA funds to acquire materials not presently available through the Library of Congress, chiefly books on tape on subjects of local interest, and large print books. In Michigan, a machined index was produced and distributed of all textbooks and other instructional materials in braille owned by local school districts. Kansas developed a file in braille with information on more than 200 aids and appliances for the blind. The Regional Library for the Blind and Physically Handicapped in New Mexico, opened in 1967 as a unit of the state library, has produced a unique collection of taped books in Spanish and in Indian dialects.[28]

Large print books were first published in England in 1964 with the Ulverscroft Series. Since then at least twenty-three publishers have produced some 2,000 large print titles, perhaps the most outstanding of them the Keith Jennison series by Franklin Watts.[29] Two interesting studies on large print have been reported within the last five years, one in London by the British Library Association,[30] and the other by the New York Public Library.[31] The object of the British study was to collect reliable facts about printing, layout and design to help publishers produce more legible books. Cards printed in different types were test-read by 288 partially sighted adults and forty-eight children who were categorized by the type of their eye defect. The study revealed that there is significant difference in the degree of accommodation which the young reader, in comparison with the adult, can make to small print, that increasing size of print is helpful only up to a certain point, that weighting of type is secondary, and that the motivation and interest of the reader are important factors. The overall conclusion of the study was that improved typography could offer as much as a 35 percent improvement in reading skill.[30]

Estimating that 4 million Americans, one-half of them children, have low vision and could profit from large print books, the branches of the New York Public Library undertook to test the value of a central collection of large print materials (whether users would come to a center or whether they preferred service through interloan, from their local library), and to discover who the potential users of large print materials are in New York, and what their reading interests are.[31] By means of questionnaires and records of all circulation over a period of many months, the study revealed that the handicapped in the city find it diffi-

cult to come to a center, that much borrowing was done for them by friends, but that increasing numbers of the handicapped were motivated to visit the center to make personal selections.

In July 1966, the American Library Association adopted the *Standards for Library Services for the Blind and Visually Handicapped.*[32] The standards were proposed by a committee of outstanding librarians headed by Ralph Shaw, dean of Library Activities, University of Hawaii and Lowell Martin, then editorial director of Grolier. The library standards are a part of a broader report[33] issued by the Commission on Standards and Accreditation of Services for the Blind (COMSTAC), an autonomous agency, established by the initiative of the American Foundation for the Blind. The adoption of library standards may be considered a milestone on the route to quality library service for the blind and physically handicapped.

The standards affirm that the blind need and are entitled to the satisfaction that reading can bring and to the same full range of library and information services as sighted people, plus whatever additional services are necessary to compensate for the handicapping effects of blindness. The standards endorse the present system of regional libraries and cooperation with the Library of Congress. Recognizing that the real difficulty in providing the highly specialized materials necessary for the visually handicapped is the relatively low density of the blind population, the document emphasizes that providing library materials for the blind and physically handicapped will cost at least five to seven times more than regular library service, or an expenditure of at least $25 per blind person in the service area, and that this cost must be shared between local, state and federal governments. The standards affirm that bibliographic devices comparable to those available to sighted readers must be developed and widely distributed, as well as communication and duplication devices. Although the use of volunteers for transcribing and supplementary services to blind readers is recognized as a long-established and viable practice, the standards stipulate that volunteers should be used to *supplement* not substitute for professional staff.

Minimum quantitative standards are proposed for size of collection, staff, bibliographical access, facilities and equipment, and specific responsibilities are assigned to the Division for the Blind and Physically Handicapped at the Library of Congress, to the state or regional libraries and to the local public and school libraries. Although it is unlikely that any blind or visually handicapped reader has available to

him the full range of services recommended by the standards, they do represent the best thinking of the library profession and have already been adopted as goals for library planning in many states.

What is in the future for blind and visually handicapped readers? "New hope,"[34] says Charles Galozzi, assistant chief of the Division for the Blind and Physically Handicapped; and also increased and fruitful interrelationships between the Library of Congress, the Bureau of Libraries and Educational Technology of the U.S. Office of Education, state and other regional libraries, and local libraries and organizations. The future may also hold new technological devices, such as compressed speech to speed the "reading" of students and research workers, scanning devices to translate print into sonic symbols,[35] certainly more convenient and compact forms for "talking books," probably tape cassettes, and a wider range of materials. Needed are additional study on the reading interests and needs of the blind and physically handicapped, technological research, and more librarians especially prepared to work with this group.

Whether the states will continue to improve service to the blind and visually handicapped accelerated by LSCA Title IV B now that the 1971 act has consolidated provision under the broad Title I, remains to be seen.

In summary, it can be said that great progress has been made within the last ten years in service to the handicapped and to the institutionalized, both in our professional understanding of what is necessary, as reflected in the various statements of standard, and in legislation at the federal level. Whether this progress will continue and develop into quality library service to all the handicapped and institutionalized depends now on a continued flow of funds—local, state and federal—on a steady commitment by state and public libraries, and on a supply of librarians prepared to offer these special services. We shall need more continuing education such as has been offered in the USOE institutes held at the Universities of Wisconsin, Michigan and Wayne State, and such as the inservice training offered to public librarians by the state libraries of Ohio and New Jersey. We shall also need more emphasis on this special service in the basic curricula of library schools. Wayne State University's program to prepare librarians at the master's level to specialize in service to the aging, sponsored by Michigan's Institute of Gerontology under the Older Americans Act, may be a clue to how

this preparation can be achieved. The University of Minnesota's course on hospital and institution libraries is another hopeful sign.

If we in the library profession really believe that the weak, the handicapped, the ill, and the imprisoned have a right to free access to the human record, the progress made in the 1960s will continue.

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The Changing Environment and Changing Institution: The Urban Library

JOHN C. FRANTZ

THE SCOPE OF THIS PAPER was defined by the issue editor to include the urban library system generally, with specific emphasis on administration and on "programs and services for a changing society and new clientele . . . community relationships . . . [and] financing of programs." In an effort to carry out this assignment, the author shall use the terms "library," "librarian," and "library materials" in their broadest connotation as components of the total educational communications enterprise, both private and public.

In connection with the theme of this issue, it should be noted that concepts and practices of formal education at all levels are undergoing rapid and radical change, sometimes with eagerness, but more often with reluctance, and occasionally with truculence or frightened hostility. No school today can afford the luxury or comfort of complacency. Almost without exception, these changes, properly understood, have direct implications for libraries and the practice of librarianship.

Many of these changes are, or will prove to be, healthy and productive. However, as an example, one notable position currently being taken by the traditional public education establishment is clearly wrong-headed, unrealistic, and shortsighted. This position is based on the concept that our conventional system of public education can and should expand to embrace any and all recognized, new or modified educational needs, including those applicable to adults. Such a concept, in attempting to foreclose a variety of educational alternatives, perpetuates an error dating at least from the passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958.

This concept, as it relates to library services, is revealed by some major recommendations of the New York State Commissioner of Educa-

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tion's Committee on Library Development. These recommendations were expressed, in part, as follows:

> The elementary school media center should have the responsibility and the capacity to meet all the library needs of all children except those in health, welfare, and correctional institutions. (The term "children" in this context is defined as that group of users now served by children's rooms in public libraries—usually preschool through grade six.)
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> . . . . . .
>
> The State should subsidize school libraries to cover costs of "nonaffiliated" student users, e.g., children from private and parochial schools and preschool children. Hours of school libraries should be extended through evenings, weekends, and vacation periods.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Advisory service to parents and other adults concerned with individualized reading, viewing, and listening guidance for children should be a function of the school media center.[1]

The rationale and justification for these conclusions would, in the absence of the establishment bias noted above, have supported a diametrically opposite series of recommendations. Instead, we are faced with a retrograde notion which attempts to preserve, by ever larger expansion, a bureaucratic monolith which is itself the major obstacle to educational reform.

Viewed objectively, current concepts and practices in education are diversifying in ways which are increasingly compatible with the diversity, both existing and potential, of the good public library. Some of the more significant changes, all with direct implications for librarianship and library materials, are: open admissions programs for higher education, particularly at the community college level; external degree and equivalency credit programs; informal classroom learning and the immediate possibility of individually prescribed multi-media instructional environments; changes in archaic and arcane certification requirements, and in the increasingly enlightened use of paraprofessionals; the multitude of literacy programs for the educationally disadvantaged at all age levels; and possibly the most important, the growing opportunities in informal education through street academies, free schools, antipoverty programs, and consumer education activities by public and private organizations and agencies, including churches.

The latter trend becomes more highly visible in the following comparison: in 1960 the education core (elementary, secondary, undergraduate, and graduate, private and public, educational institutions) had an enrollment of 48.4 million or 63 percent of those engaged in

education. In 1970 the enrollment rose to 63.8 million, but the proportion of the total dropped to 51 percent. Comparable data for the education periphery (industrial, organizational, and other adult described above) show a 1960 enrollment of 28.3 million, 37 percent of the total, increasing by 1970 to an enrollment of 60.3 million or 49 percent of the total.[2]

It is, therefore, probable that sometime between now and 1975 the number of people undertaking learning in an organized way outside the conventional school structure will, for the first time in our history, exceed the number of those within the traditional school system. Thus the approaching shadow of life-long learning in the real and practical sense is cast upon this new decade. As Charles Reich sees it:

> The first major theme of this new way of life must be education—education not in the limited sense of training in school, but in its largest and most humanistic meaning. . . . We have vastly underestimated the amount of education and consciousness that is required to meet the demands of organization and technology.
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> . . . . . .
>
> We have also greatly underestimated the amount and kind of education needed to keep any given individual from being unable to adapt to change. The individual whose education stops at eighteen or twenty-one is a pathetic sight in our society. Increasingly he is obsolete in his work. . . . He is unable to understand his society, unable to vote in a responsible way, unable to communicate with his own children or to understand their culture.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> What we urgently need is not training but education, not indoctrination but the expansion of each individual—a process continuing throughout life.[3]

Although I have been associated with the public library on the federal, state, and local levels, I am still not simply claiming that it is a better institution than the school library. Many of us who see so clearly the vital role of libraries in our times fail to recognize the almost total inadequacy of our present, actual performance. The price to libraries of doing business as usual will be a richly deserved oblivion. Down payments are now being made by many of our urban libraries whose luster wears the patina of yesteryear. However, those who use this situation to predict the demise, later or sooner, of the public library are staring too long into McLuhan's rear-view mirror.

Library materials and librarians' skills will continue to increase in value as components of the social fabric and the educational enterprise —but the library must change. Both "business as usual" and "more of

the same" are prescriptions for purgatory. Planning for libraries must shift toward a much broader and more flexible concept of the nature of education, the uses and users of information, and the appropriate role of communications media in achieving the goals of the individual and of society.

It is this goal-oriented, performance-related approach which will be most productive in bringing about those institutional changes which will be required to enhance and extend the usefulness of libraries. In this light, library planning can be said to start with what might be called institutional behavioral objectives. The next step is to manage library operations and allocate library resources in ways which will most efficiently achieve the objectives. In addition to helping shape program concept and design, this view also has promising implications for library finances.

A basic purpose of the library function, including its role with respect to information and recreation, is to influence, in positive and productive directions, the total quality of life as expressed in the philosophy and behavior of the individual and the community. The largest part of the work of the world during the remainder of the twentieth century will be coping effectively with our personal, social, natural, and economic environments.

The tasks within this framework form clusters ranging from the individual and his struggles with personal identity, self-esteem, family and career decisions and the like to such massive concerns as international understanding, environmental deterioration, over-population, data processing and control, and maldistribution of wealth.

An illustration of a segment of the problem at the atomistic level is provided in a report by James Coleman: "In the third grade, for example, the average Negro in the metropolitan northeast is one year behind the average white in reading ability; by grade six, he is more than a year and a half behind; by grade nine, he is more than two and a half years behind; and by the twelfth grade, he is nearly three years behind the average white."[4]

In a study commissioned by the National Reading Council, Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., used new concepts of "survival literacy" based on the respondents' ability to read, comprehend and fill out such application forms as those for a social security number, public welfare assistance, Medicaid, a personal bank loan, and a driver's license. Evaluation of respondent performance was based solely on reading ability and results were analyzed in four functional literacy groups: low survival threshold, questionable survival threshold, marginal, and finally,

likely survival threshold. Converting the sample to the total population over sixteen years of age, 4.3 million Americans fall into the low group, 7.1 million into the questionable group and 18.5 million into the marginal category. Thus nearly 30 million out-of-school Americans now have serious reading difficulties.[5]

These two studies of reading, one within and one without the educational system, are ample justification for the high priority being given to the right to read program by the U.S. Office of Education and for the activities being undertaken by the National Reading Council. Obviously, the problems identified by these and other supporting research sources should become an immediate concern for libraries and librarians.

An extension of these data on print literacy would suggest the existence of problems in what might be called communications literacy in application to non-print media. Television, the still slumbering giant of educational technology, and radio, despite the mediocre median of their programming, may, nevertheless, be used on several different levels. Librarians could occupy a highly strategic role as advisors and advocates on behalf of the consumers of communication. The whole concept of literacy has not been examined in sufficient depth. Much of our understanding of the motivation to read and of the results of reading still lies well beyond either an arbitrary standard such as sixth grade level or the more imaginative four thresholds of Harris. The increasing complexities of social and technological organization require more competence in the comprehension of all media than ever before.

The Phase I report[6] of the Educational Media Selection Centers program clearly shows our current deficiencies in providing teachers and other adults working with children and students with adequate access to available media and in giving sufficient training in their use. A high priority commitment in materials selection and use, in programming, and in library education and research would make libraries potent partners in achieving the goals of the right to read effort.

Thus far the author has dwelt on literacy as an example of goal orientation by libraries because of the direct stake which library materials and services have in the issue. That most other issues may be once removed from the library as an institution does not mean that library facilities and resources cannot be of substantial aid in their solution. Three other national priorities receiving widespread current attention have direct relevance to the design and delivery of good library services: early childhood education, including the programming of day care facilities; education on dangerous and addictive drugs and the re-

habilitation of users; and environmental pollution and the conservation of natural resources.

We now know a great deal about the crucial importance of the preschool years in a child's acquiring a sense of self, building relationships with others, and developing perceptions of his world. Approximately one-half of all growth in human intelligence takes place between birth and four years of age. Two-thirds of one's intellectual development occurs before traditional formal education begins. No day care facility should be without books and other library materials. Libraries should reach out more effectively to help parents, teachers, and other adults enrich and diversify the early childhood experience.

An estimated 30,000 to 40,000 U.S. military personnel in Southeast Asia are now believed to be addicted to drugs, primarily to heroin. As they come home, they join a civilian addict population estimated to be 250,000.[7] Accurate and complete information on drugs in all media, as an aid in prevention, should be provided to all. Rehabilitation facilities and drug addiction treatment centers should have a full range of recreational, vocational, and eductional media.

Environmental pollution and the conservation of natural resources also relate directly to a continuous flow of up-to-date information on research and technological development. These problems, like all others, are proving to be more complex, more interrelated, and more persistent than we like to think. Single, quick, or simple remedies do not exist.

Library extension facilities, designed to provide maximum ease of access, also lend themselves to tasks at the neighborhood and community levels. Zoning and other local legislation, neighborhood planning and renewal, and effective referrals for legal, educational and social services should all be provided in accordance with local area needs.

Whatever the task, the goal, or the problem, an effective response will be dependent on responsible citizen action. Such action must be fully informed, correctly directed and well organized. Those librarians who are themselves well informed and socially conscious can and should provide both personal leadership and leadership training in those situations where it does not exist.

Some specific elements of institutional change which are needed in creating a goal- or task-oriented library are:

1. Our resources should be put to work in place of our rhetoric. The library's materials and the librarian's skills should be injected into

the affairs of communities and individuals. Outreach should be conceived as a change in the nature of the library itself and not a mere breach in the Carnegie cocoon. Librarianship should be practiced without regard to physical settings and should be evident in all the places where people work, live, play or congregate.

2. Decisions on such library questions as materials selection, scope of collections, hours of service, library programs, and staffing requirements should be made at levels closest to those served by each facility. This may be accomplished by the establishment of community policy boards or through close and continuous staff contact with groups and individuals within the area served. The policies, procedures, and program activities of each library unit should reflect the special characteristics of its neighborhood.
3. People should be recruited, either paid or volunteer, who are enthusiastic about books and other library materials, whose lives have been changed by their use, and who are concerned about our problems and issues.
4. Professional librarians should be used only for the practice of librarianship: acquisition, cataloging, reference, and, above all, training of non-professional staff in community relations, reader guidance, storytelling, etc. Librarians should not be made responsible for agency management: scheduling, maintenance, routine supervision or security. A notable failure of our profession is that we have not developed, or even applied, sound management practices to library service. Our misuse of staff, our lack of efficient differentiation of assignments, our Neanderthal education and certification requirements deserve to be treated as the scandal they are. Unless we put our libraries on a well managed basis with tight and competitive performance standards, those responsible for budget decisions will not provide adequate funds.
5. Another conspicuous failure of the library profession is the almost total lack of research, development and evaluation efforts in operational library settings. All library programs, activities, and services should be subject to continuous review and evaluation so that the allocation of all resources may be made annually or more often in the most enlightened ways.
6. In moving a library toward a goal orientation, it is essential to be as specific as possible. Every effort should be made to quantify both the goal and the program. In the case of reading deficiencies, for example, each library should know the types and extent of the problems in its service area. Then a specific proportion of the target group should be reached with the appropriate services and materials in a scheduled sequence. Successes and failures should be measured.

7. Whatever the goals to reach, or tasks to perform, the library must become the community bastion of intellectual freedom. No criteria, other than their usefulness for the task at hand, should be applied to the library's collections. Creative indigenous materials, fugitive and ephemeral publications may have special value in local situations. Because of both their frailty and their vulnerability, the freedoms of the first amendment require the vigilance and protection which the library is in a unique position to provide.

   The U.S. Commission on Obscenity and Pornography might almost have had a charter for libraries in mind when it said, "We live in a free pluralistic society which places its trust in the competition of ideas in a free market place. Persuasion is a preferred technique. Coercion, repression and censorship in order to promote a given set of views are not tolerable in our society. . . . The Commission believes that there is no warrant for continued governmental interference with the full freedom of adults to read, obtain or view whatever such material they wish."[8]
8. Librarians should stop regarding their institutions as barques of righteousness beleaguered upon a sea of indifference. Every cause has its champions and libraries must find and forge new alliances which will lend increased strength and support to the larger common cause. Targeted funds from the federal government are available for many purposes: urban development and renewal exemplified by the model cities program; employment and training through the Labor Department and the Office of Economic Opportunity; consolidated efforts to mount effective programs of volunteer services in and through such local agencies as schools and libraries; the right to read program of the U.S. Office of Education and its other major priority programs; funds available for special services, including education for minority and ethnic groups—the American Indians, veterans, and migrants and other agricultural workers; and, grants to promising programs in the arts and humanities.

Whatever form the various revenue-sharing proposals may ultimately take, it seems clear that there will continue to be a legislative interest at all levels in the results of expenditures of public funds. Wherever appropriate, the library must take the initiative in identifying its role in accomplishing the desired results and then demonstrate delivery on this promise. The benefits to libraries are twofold and cumulative. First, libraries will find non-library sources of funding for library programs. Second, and of greater long range importance, libraries will build broader and deeper bases of support in myriad agencies and organizations in the public and quasi-public arena, as well as in the pri-

vate sector. The trend toward public financing by function rather than by institution or category is already under way. The goal-oriented library ready and able to move with this trend will not only survive, it will prevail and prosper.

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The Changing Environment and Changing Institution: Indian Project of the Northeast Kansas Library System

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THE TERRITORY COVERED by the Northeast Kansas Library (NEKL) System embraces all the current national economic and social crises in microcosm. It is an area in which suburbia, industry, government, and learning rub shoulders with the remnants of rural tradition. The factory worker in Lawrence finds the university relevant only two times a year, during football and basketball seasons. The university's street society, on the other hand, feels put upon in having to share the community. The Oskaloosa farmer no longer farms; instead he commutes daily to the Goodyear or Dupont plants in Topeka since it is out of the question for him to think of moving to the city. The executive in Mission Hills worries about his property taxes, his pool, and his job. The assembly line worker is oblivious to the polluted air choking both Kansas Cities; his concerns are centered in getting out of the city and having safety on his neighborhood streets after dark.

The regional library must effect a response to these manifestations of change. Somehow the library must find a means to relate to a clientele that is itself finding it increasingly difficult to relate to any situation. Moreover, the library must also deal with specific elements that are part of and hidden within the generalities of change. The disadvantaged are a prime example of this element. In Kansas, the varying degrees of disadvantageousness apply to the state's black, Mexican-American and Indian populations. There is no variation in this pattern in the

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region covered by the NEKL System. The system's racial/ethnic population is approximately less than 10 percent of a total population of over 600,000. The smallness in numbers, however, is in indirect proportion to needs and lack of response.

The organizational/administrative structure of a library system tends to mitigate against direct response to user needs. The organization is a kind of bureaucracy, separated from its clientele by an intermediate layer of individual libraries. The system, per se, actually has the function of a headquarters. For the most part, this situation is common to systems regardless of type (cooperative, federation, consolidated, etc.). The system, in this sense, is the manager and packager of services. The delivery of service, interaction between library and user, occurs at the local level via member libraries. The system is in no position to fill a gap when a member agency fails to meet the needs of elements of the immediate community. Even a mail order book catalog can usurp the limits placed on the system by the biases, fears, and self-interests of individual system members. There is one issue that bids to test existing structures of the system concept, and this issue is service to the disadvantaged.

A majority of Kansas's black, Mexican-American, and Indian citizens live in the area of the Northeast Kansas Library System. Of these groups, the Indian has been untouched by library service. This is not to say that the interrelationships between libraries and blacks, or libraries and Mexican Americans have progressed to a point where service is adequate and can simply be maintained as is. Instead it reflects simply that the responsibility gap between local agencies and the system is sufficiently narrowed as to allow the system to devote priority attention to where the service gap is enormous, i.e., service to the Indian.

In addition to the expected problems inherent when a system assumes a direct service role, it should be noted that the target service area, while in the system's territory, is under the library jurisdiction for non-system members. The system did have two factors in favor of its overcoming these barriers: (1) Kansas's new requirement of planning and program action on a system level as participant criteria in Title I of the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA), and (2) the system's decision to subdivide itself into districts. This latter decision spread the administrative burden and responsibility around and forced system members to become involved in an area adjacent to their own jurisdiction.

Consideration and planning for an Indian project began at the dis-

trict level (Topeka) in mid-1969. Coincidently the Kansas State Library had by the fall of that year decided to initiate a state-wide program for the disadvantaged. The state library agency amended its LSCA Title I program to allow planning grants to each of the state's seven library systems. The emphasis was on planning with some allowance for demonstrations. The NEKL System's proposal was well ahead of the state's limitations since it had already done its homework (planning). What was needed next was the actual program. The NEKL System proposal had as its primary objective the establishment of system services to the disadvantaged on a continuing basis. The prime service element was a media-integrated information service. The program was to be implemented in two phases: the first phase was aimed at the Potawatomi Reservation; the experiences gained from this first part of the project were to be used in the second phase at the Kickapoo Reservation. The total program was projected as a five-year plan.

The chief features of the program's first year were the establishment of a liaison between the library and identifiable service needs within the community, a rudimentary program through which the needs of the community could be assessed, and development and training of a staff from the community to maintain an on-site program of service. The second year was projected as the period for developing the communication center approach and training librarians as information specialists. The transfer of services and experience to the Kickapoo Reservation was to begin in the project's third year. Development of special services, such as those for the aged and a cultural awareness program, were projected for the third and fourth years.

In actual operation, the project more than accomplished its first year goals. An effective liaison was established between the library and the community. A center for library operation was established in the Tribal Hall on the Potawatomi Reservation. A member of the community was trained to provide door-to-door, family-to-family service as well as maintaining the reservation library. A permanent collection of materials has been developed; collections and services were augmented from the system through Topeka.

Joan Yeagley, system consultant to the project, provides a needed backdrop to the project in the following observations: "There has been in this year some doubt as to roles. We consultants have been afraid of stepping all over the feelings of these people in our Anglo-Saxon overbearing ways, and the Potawatomi and Kickapoo people have been cautious in suggesting to us those ways in which library ser-

vices and innovations might better serve these tribes."[1] The establishment of communication between the interested parties has been slow and closely parallels the experience described in "Service to Indian Reservations"[2] by William Gordon. Underlining Gordon's observations, prime interest has been in ethnic materials and culturally related books and magazines.

This project was fortunate to have had the services of Duane Evans and Ellen Allen of the Potawatomi and Kickapoo tribes, respectively, who have acted as liaisons between the system and the tribes. These native Americans are dedicated to working for their people's welfare and were able to transcend the Indian reticence in dealing with outsiders and made it possible to establish communication with the tribes. The approach has been to keep the library in the hands of the people themselves, and to supply training and consultation where needed.

The success of the project with the Potawatomi tribe is in marked contrast to the situation for them in other local matters. The problem of racial discrimination was emphasized recently in a successful request for a change of venue for an Indian charged with murder. The defense attorney was able to prove by statements made to an interviewer and tape recorded from a random sampling of the population in Holton, the county seat, that discrimination against the Indian by the majority population was the order of business in that community, and an Indian could not receive a fair trial in that community.

Harassment of Indians takes many forms. Two Indian students were recently threatened with expulsion from school for wearing their hair according to tribal custom. In treaties made with the Indians and ratified by Congress, the Indian was granted free hunting and fishing rights on the reservation. On the Potawatomi Reservation, Indian men and boys have been arrested and fined for hunting without a license. Four Indian men were arrested for hunting without a licence on the reservation while waiting in a parked car for service repairs to that vehicle.

From her personal experience in working in the project, Yeagley adds the following:

> In touring the reservation, I learned that only one Indian actually farms the land on the reservation. All the rest of the land is owned or leased to non-Indians. Some leases go back several generations to the forced allotment of reservation land in 1890. Indians barely realize a living from the rental fees of family owned and leased land which presents a peculiar problem. If these families apply for public assistance they will lose the

income from these lands and the rights to ownership. Knowing that many Indian families existed on a marginal level, I had been perplexed by the fact that the welfare statistics we studied failed to reflect any appreciable difference in those counties which contain the reservations, Brown and Jackson, from any other county in the NEKL area. The people choose hardship rather than risking losing their lands. Much of the reservation land is commonly owned by the tribe and the income from this land is appreciable. How it is spent is the source of friction between the younger members of the tribe and the present business committee.[1]

Many of the problems the Indian faces will be resolved in time by legal action. The tribe is patiently working toward these solutions through a tribal action committee. This committee plans to elect a library committee who will keep NEKL consultants informed of tribal progress and who will interpret and support library services and activities to members of the tribe. The library has become a point of identification for these people as a rational and responsible arm of state government.

One mark of success for the system's efforts is that the four tribal councils (of the four Kansas tribes: Potawatomi, Iowa, Kickapoo and Sac-Fox) now invite the system to councils' deliberations. The NEKL System, as an institution, is responding to a changing environment.

The experiences gained from the Potawatomi project have led to a commitment by the system to fulfill the five-year plan. The commitment raises some major problems for the system. The system has assumed a responsibility for a population that is within its borders, but who are located in a county and/or local library district that does not belong to the system. The question has been raised whether system efforts for the Indian may further polarize the white and red populations, as well as jeopardize chances of the non-member areas joining the system.

The services being provided to the Potawatomi Reservation are attracting attention from the non-Indian community at Holton which may come to believe that system participation is of value to itself. With only one library in the county, whose jurisdiction is contained in the city of Holton, the total population is as badly off, in terms of resources, as the reservation population. By working closely with the Potawatomi Indian Reservation we find that the problems engendered by poverty and lack of resources are paralleled throughout the system for all of the disadvantaged. The reservation is a microcosm of the situation of the disadvantaged throughout the system. The most important single service planned by the NEKL System in its program to the disadvantaged is the system program of public service resource data on

services available to the disadvantaged. The library functioning as an information center and community resource for education, recreation and cultural growth will be of immediate value not only to the Potawatomi Indian but to system patrons at large.

The problem of project funding is an even greater dilemma. Although the project has been funded from Title I funds of LSCA, the system has borne the greater share of the project cost. The Kansas State Library extended federal participation for an additional year, although this participation will probably be eliminated in fiscal year 1972. In its planning, the system investigated other supplementary sources of funding. Its pursuit of Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) funds was an exercise in a Kafka-like nightmare. Neither the state education agency, nor the local education agency knew anything about JOM (although the local school district had surplus JOM funds). Without supplementary monies, the system's contribution alone is not enough to continue the project. Should the system decide to go the funding alone, it can do so only at the expense of other interests of the system.

Another possible problem area for the NEKL System has to do with the nature of the library program. Thus far the program has been fairly fluid. The services delivered are primarily to provide a stimulus to the Indian population's thinking and planning for what they want as a library program. However, it should be noted that the part of the library effort having the greatest impact is that which relates to social action and awareness. The project's staff, in addition to their expected library functions, has had to assume the role of a kind of rural information specialist. Its passive role is a matter of pointing to sources of information on health care, elections, etc. Its active role pursues decent health service, elects Indians to school boards, etc. There is currently nothing available on which to develop a frame of reference for such functions. Although the University of Maryland's Urban Information Specialist Project might be of some value in the future, the system needs something now. The choices seem to be to assume a structure which would be meaningless to the political and social needs of the Indians, or to assume responsibilities which could produce a running confrontation with the local power structure.

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Serving the Disadvantaged from the Administrative Viewpoint

MARIE A. DAVIS

CHARLES SILBERMAN in describing the basic premise of his book *Crisis in the Classroom* states:

> In an era of radical change such as the present, no approach is more impractical than one which takes the present arrangements and practices as given, asking only, "How can we do what we are now doing more effectively?" or "How can we bring the worst institutions up to the level of the best?" These questions need to be asked, to be sure; but one must also realize that the best may not be good enough and may, in any case, already be changing. And so we choose to work on two levels simultaneously: a level of short-run reform, where one works within the existing system, and a longer-run concern with the transformation of the system.[1]

Like Silberman we try to bring some order into the chaos of everyday library living with a two dimensional approach. To assume that functioning on two levels accommodates the pragmatic and the visionary is overly simplistic, for the two levels are interfaced and interacting. Serving the disadvantaged in the urban setting requires the melding of more imaginative professional planning with more efficient management of daily operations.

Library administrators must work on two interacting levels to find out why and what we are doing, and to think seriously about the purpose and the consequences of our services. As sources of public funding diminish we are more accountable than ever before to meet public needs. Too frequently librarians are preoccupied with a holding action until budgetary and staff problems are resolved. The myth of returning to business as usual must be dispelled.

Silberman states that major deficiencies in public education—and he includes libraries in the full range of education—result not from venality, indifference or stupidity, but from *mindlessness*.[2] Mindlessness and

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the reluctance to question established practices are largely responsible for our failure to make a people truly educated. If people were truly educated would we have a wave of anti-intellectualism in America; would there be the curse of bigness and failure to manage or control the "organization"; would we have a manipulative technology seemingly bereft of human values, which victimizes rather than serves; would we accept the banality of mass media which (except for a few high spots) preserves the clichés of a society caught in the bewildering turmoil of issues?

Library materials and methods of delivery of services can provide the means whereby volatile and highly charged ideas bring about change and influence social and political action. Some books have effectively challenged our cherished notions and have influenced change—*The Throwaway Children*[3] by Lisa Richette refutes the idea that we have loved our children; *Death at an Early Age*[4] by Jonathan Kozol disproves the idea that our schools are sanctuaries for the good and noble; *The Secular City*[5] by Harvey Cox questions the idea that our churches are the bulwark of man's humanity to man; *The American University*[6] by Jacques Barzun places in more realistic perspective the idea that our universities are citadels for the pursuit of excellence; *Soul on Ice*[7] by Eldridge Cleaver demonstrates that our approach to minorities has been scarred by racist practices and attitudes; *The Great Conspiracy Trial*[8] by Jason Epstein challenges the idea that our courts are beacons of justice; and *Our Time is Now*[9] by John Birmingham demonstrates that we have driven our youth underground by suppressing their forms of expression.

The issues outlined in the above-mentioned books present but a few of the reasons why libraries and librarians must find ways to reach out to the core of the cities or the centers of deprivation where they can touch upon the edge of growing awareness and unrecognized aspiration. Robert Theobald, as one of the "Current Scene" lecturers of The Free Library of Philadelphia, indicated that there is a clear, consistent human argument which shows that people are best able to solve their own problems if they are provided with the information required to make effective decisions.[10] Not only is it necessary that ideas and information penetrate the barriers of despair, apathy, and rage in the inner-city, but also opportunities for cultural expression must be provided. The public library is unique in its capabilities for nurturing the self-education process and the great potential it has for providing "little Lincoln Centers" at neighborhood levels—perhaps with soul music in-

stead of symphonies, graphics instead of gouache, or Afro dances instead of classical ballet—or whatever the community life style dictates.

Demonstration projects have made an impression, but service to the disadvantaged cannot be fostered by fragmentary activities. It can be fostered within existing institutions provided total commitment and strong administrative direction are given the following: (1) organization and planning, (2) financing, (3) interagency cooperation and community relations, and (4) staffing.

ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING

John Gardner has said self-examination and self-renewal must be continuous,[11] yet few librarians can clearly define their purpose or goals other than to fall back on the "education, recreation, inspiration" syndrome. We cannot continue to assume that our libraries can be all things to all people. Perhaps one day when we have a national network of library service such might be the case, but until then we must work (on our two levels) to correct apparent weaknesses in structure while transforming the structure itself.

Like other large city libraries forced into new relationships within various governmental structures, The Free Library of Philadelphia undertook the task of redefining policy and program for the Program-Planning-Budgeting System (PPBS) inaugurated by the city of Philadelphia in May of 1969. Ultimately a report was to be submitted in conjunction with the city planning commission. The process of redefining has continued, for the library staff found that it could not toss the report together like a salad without any dressing (we had the ingredients but not the essence). It is essential in such analyses to isolate the problems, establish the goals, collect data, and concur on the specific library's reorganization plan. Only then can library administrators arrive at the very heart of the matter—the application of new principles to existing forms and patterns of service—and really come to grips with *change*.

A brief outline of Philadelphia's comprehensive plan for library service over the next ten years follows:

1. It reemphasizes a commitment to stimulate library use by all the people in the service area, but places special stress on the educationally and economically deprived. The plan accounts for advances made thus far with infusion of federal and state aid. It recognizes trends such as shifts in population; new technological developments; accessibility, currency, and expendability of information; multi-

media orientation of today's youth; and the inability of public institutions to finance collection development and delivery of services.

2. It asserts the position of the central library as the reference-resource facility for the entire library system and the entire Delaware Valley with research collections and supportive functions. It also recognizes state-wide responsibilities and services.
3. It reaffirms the regional concept which lagged after our first and very successful Northeast Regional Library was built in 1963. Since the plan emphasizes The Free Library of Philadelphia's commitment to decentralization, the pressing need for regional libraries is increasingly apparent.
4. It provides for local library service in a network of various extension agencies: branches, satellites, mobile units and deposit collections. The unique aspect of the plan establishes a "cluster" pattern consisting of a headquarters library and smaller neighborhood library outlets for the inner-city to overcome problems of inaccessibility and to promote outreach.
5. Collection and staff development are to be synthesized into the various levels of service, with built-in provisions for field work and community self-determination.

Most large urban libraries are engaged in not one but several comprehensive plans for immediate or long-range implementation. To seize opportunities as they arise requires applying the administrative stethoscope to numerous pulses at the same time. It is no easy task to synchronize all project planning. However, interaction and spin-off benefits can prove to be both stimulating and helpful if objectives and priorities are firmly established. The viability of total planning is often borne out by the offshoots which may be separately proposed and funded. For example, The Free Library of Philadelphia has developed a multi-faceted model cities plan which is compatible with the principles of the library's comprehensive plan. Although the model cities proposal has never been funded, various components of the plan have been effectuated through LSCA Title I and private routes. Thus the "Free Wheeler" and the library unit of the Model Cities Community Information Center (MCCIC) came into being.[12]

The Free Wheeler is equipped with a loudspeaker which is used not only to advertise its own services, but to play Pied Piper to groups of people who can be encouraged to attend and made welcome at programs planned in the existing branches. Its advertising facilities are also used to interpret and encourage use of model cities activities and

resources in the area. During the winter the Free Wheeler serves as a distribution vehicle for deposit collections that are placed in the service agencies where so many of the model cities residents have long periods of sitting and waiting.

MCCIC, directed by the Health and Welfare Council, includes a computerized data bank with referral information for the services so badly needed by the model cities' residents. It also has an advanced telephone system with three-way conversations so that a model cities resident can be plugged into the service agency with the MCCIC operator acting as advocator and mediator. The third element of this service is a community education program whereby all agencies of the area are alerted to its potential services. Two professional librarians and a secretary are assigned to the information center for referral and information input. Although the service has not as yet reached its potential, it has proved a valuable learning experience for the librarians involved. Future library development of information services using printouts from such data banks poses interesting possibilities, particularly in the reorganization of central reference and resource facilities. It is also possible to envision terminal outlets in branches for improved access to needed information.

FINANCING

The planning process provides the framework for budgetary requests and fiscal projections. It is particularly important to have a well developed plan and a series of alternatives in times of financial stress. The serious financial plight of the cities has created problems libraries must face along with all other city services. Libraries in New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, and elsewhere have been forced to reduce hours and curtail public services such as story hours, film showings, and experimental programs. Any further nibbling away of services will cut into the heart of the organization itself. When personnel costs soar and the job freeze is imposed, branches must be closed; a mortal blow is thus struck at the underutilized inner-city library outlets. When the sources of funding are limited, library materials' budgets decline in proportion to wage increases. Consequently mass distribution of adult basic education materials or giveaway paperback projects in prisons and juvenile detention centers become impossible.

Decentralization and outreach require skilled staff and heavy duplication of specialized materials for the nonprint-oriented inner-city resident. Are the carefully developed plans for library service to the disad-

vantaged to fail for lack of funds? Clearly, limited staff and resources must be redeployed, and new sources of revenue must be found.

In Philadelphia we have explored new financial arrangements on a cooperative basis with educational institutions of the city considering redevelopment funds, model cities, labor department, and other federal sources. Unfortunately, small independent special projects are often more easily funded than efforts to mobilize total institutional resources for massive impact. Moreover, special projects, often fragmentary, which are defined as demonstrations cannot prove their value in two or three years and are increasingly unlikely to be continued by local financing.

There is great need for interstate compacts and regional development plans for revenue sharing. For example, the central library in Philadelphia services great numbers of New Jersey residents, particularly over weekends. The possibility of financing these services cooperatively is worthy of serious consideration. It is interesting to note that dialogues regarding central library reorganization have taken place recently between The Free Library of Philadelphia, the Enoch Pratt Library and the Mid-Manhattan Library. The Mid-Manhattan Library[13] is the New York Public Library's solution to the problems of having no tax-supported central library. Enoch Pratt is reorganizing its central services for state-wide use and financing. Philadelphia's study of its central library aims to modernize its functions and interrelate its services more effectively within the city, state and a tri-state region. As there is little assurance of additional support from depleted city and state treasuries, The Free Library of Philadelphia cannot anticipate or project the pattern of city, county and state sharing of funds outlined by Lowell Martin for the Chicago Public Library.[14] Federal, private and interstate financing must be explored.

Another aspect of the financial picture which wreaks havoc with new approaches to inner-city services is the capital budget. Often the source of large grants for library expansion, capital programs have now locked city libraries into a rigid structure of obsolete and poorly located buildings. Even under conditions of great financial stress, political support for capital budgets is usually guaranteed, while there is less than enthusiastic endorsement of necessary operating budget requests. This places library administrators in the untenable position of having to close existing branches in order to open new ones.

Obviously the financial crunch is crucial to the management of the total library organism. If planning and determination of goals have

been well defined, price tags can be put on funded and unfunded services. Fund raising campaigns of various sorts can then be considered. The library board of trustees and citizen coalition groups have their role to play in aggressively seeking new sources of support recommended by library administrators.

STAFFING

Fiscal problems have serious consequences regarding staff and service to the disadvantaged. To preserve some semblance of order despite chaotic financial limitations requires a highly adaptive staff who often find themselves forced into the dismal blind alley of clerical routines. The high cost of personnel results in job freezes; indeed more drastic situations force layoff procedures which, even if rescinded (as was Philadelphia's experience), leave deep scars and a prevailing lack of faith in the system or the administration. Administrators and subordinate staff alike float helplessly on a sea of uncertainty. The larger the library system, the greater is the difficulty in breaking free of bureaucratic snares under conditions which call for greater flexibility, experimentation, and innovation. There are just fewer people with sufficient skill to handle more complex work.

Many of the new library recruits are fired with zeal and the desire to serve the inner-city. Unfortunately they are often at a loss if given a free rein, for their lack of experience does not equip them with the necessary professional competence and aplomb to improvise within a given difficult situation. Guidelines and consultation are necessary in order to encourage new approaches to the non-users of conventional as well as innovative library outlets. Field work and in-house projects must be attempted, and failures must be acknowledged as part of the trial and error process. If administrative support is given in good faith, the staff on the firing line will inch forward bit by bit in their relationships with unmotivated inner-city residents. For example, in one of Philadelphia's branches, two librarians were able to turn their meeting room into a game center to hold the interest of teen-age boys who constantly disrupted normal branch activity.

In another instance, a librarian was reassigned from the rare book department to a small experimental library operation in a flourishing community center. The job freeze forced the rare book department to carry the vacancy for the entire year, but the program ideas and book selection principles emerging from the project gave new insights to the librarian, the coordinator who acted as consultant to the project, the

chief of the extension division, and the associate director in charge of public services. It was learned that the former practice of providing deposit collections in centers of this type lacked the on-the-spot vitality which only a librarian can give to these services. Moreover, the project proved workable as one kind of nerve ending for the cluster concept of the library's comprehensive plan.

During the past year, The Free Library of Philadelphia balanced future planning with daily crises in facing a city deficit of which its share was over $900,000. The priorities established under a full year of total job freeze clearly indicated that reader services and reference services be given top priority. The policy was to encourage outreach activities as much as possible. All programming activities were curtailed within departments and branches. Staff meetings were discontinued and inservice training courses cancelled.

A review of last year's priorities born out of crisis reveals that gains in outreach were not achieved from programming cutbacks. With yet another wage increase to be absorbed within an even more greatly reduced budget, the administrative decision is nevertheless to resume programming for somehow it stimulates outreach activities. Branch and department heads may proceed at their own discretion with full knowledge that staff transfers to cover emergencies are apt to occur without advance notice. Inservice training and staff meetings also will be resumed as there was a decided breakdown in communication when they were discontinued.

It is important to note that a staff manual on serving the disadvantaged is no answer to the problem of staff training. A set of written principles may provide a starting point, but constant evaluation and assessment of how an individual librarian draws upon his personal resources and professional techniques in order to resolve a given problematical situation is necessary. Senior staff—in Philadelphia's case, the coordinators of age level services—play a key role here.

Not only the new recruits and young librarians need to be considered as stress exerts its debilitating influence. Minor supervisors and mid-career staff often feel caught in the squeeze between new ideas of self-determination and personnel demands and old concepts of orderliness and service. Unionization of librarians causes uncomfortable adjustments for many who have worked evenings, holidays and weekends without thoughts of overtime pay and other benefits. Some prefer job security to wage increases.

Senior staff, too, deserve consideration for they are central to the

problem of interpreting and implementing new directions in library service within the limitations imposed by conditions of austerity. They often feel threatened by the loss of authority and control implicit in decentralization. Overworked and understaffed, they are buffers for the tensions building upward and downward. Their morale also must be boosted for they are influential in setting the tone and preventing panic down the line. All senior staff at The Free Library of Philadelphia are contributing their expertise to the comprehensive plan and its translation into the capital program. They are involved in determining action regarding each city directive on the constantly changing financial status of the library.

The Free Library's comprehensive plan places more autonomy at the local service level. It stresses use of indigenous personnel and establishes a career ladder for paraprofessionals. It also places the subject specialist at a higher rank on the organization chart. To implement these personnel changes within a rigid civil service system and inflexible placement procedures is staggering to contemplate, but it is not impossible.

INTERAGENCY COOPERATION AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

At a time when everyday problems accelerate and operational breakdowns occur for lack of staff and funds, maintaining ongoing ties with other community institutions and organizations is difficult but must be done. The Philadelphia Student Library Resource Requirements Study[15] is regarded by the project director as an outstanding example of school (public, private and parochial) and public library cooperation. As it enters the demonstration phase, new techniques should evolve for reaching disadvantaged children and teen-agers with meaningful school-related and personal library services.

Community self-determination is a strong force which puts library professionalism to the test and often presents new problems for which we have no precedents to follow. The old adult education techniques based on somewhat paternalistic principles no longer work. Despite setbacks, hostility and even rejection by local residents demanding library services on their terms, librarians must act in good faith and keep a foot in the door in order to be truly responsive to the needs of the people. The Free Library's top administrative staff devoted considerable time to such a learning experience this past year when a local inner-city group refused to accept plans for a branch library rehabilitated from an old theater. The result was demolition of the old building and plans

for a new regional library on the site, now in the capital budget. A good working relationship based on mutual trust has evolved and this group, along with others representative of affluent, middle class, and other inner-city areas, have joined together to form a citizens' coalition for increased library support in Philadelphia.

The priorities set by adversity can tell us a great deal about the investment of staff time in terms of service impact. Clues to new directions will surface if librarians are sensitive, alert, and really committed to seek new directions despite problems posed by financial and governmental failings. As we struggle to balance technocracy with humanism, we must combat, above all, the *mindlessness* that Charles Silberman has singled out as the greatest enemy of social and educational progress.

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The Role of the Children's Librarian in Serving the Disadvantaged

BINNIE L. TATE

ALL THE INSTITUTIONS of a community are part of the child's learning environment. It is, therefore, imperative that responsible agencies continually examine and reexamine the means by which they systematically influence the child's growth processes.

In the most simplified terms, the public library's role has been the selection, collection and dissemination of free literature. Formerly accepted methods of library service to children are being questioned as the illiteracy of the American population becomes a major concern. Statistics in the 1970s show that the majority of the American people have not developed efficiency in reading. The problems of the nonreading are acutely evident in areas with large minority populations—Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Indian. Territories in isolation such as rural communities, mountain areas, migrant camps, and reservations reflect critically low education and reading levels.

> Figures compiled by Barrett in the Southwest on the plight of the Mexican-American student in the Southwest show that in 1960 the median for school years completed by Spanish surname individuals of both sexes 14 years of age and over was: 9.0 years in California; 8.6 in Colorado; 8.4 in New Mexico; 7.9 in Arizona; and 6.1 in Texas. (It is interesting to note that the income of the Spanish-Americans, though universally low, shows a relatively higher pattern in California than in Texas where school achievement was lowest.)
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> In New York City, while one out of every four pupils in elementary schools is of Puerto Rican birth or parentage, Puerto Ricans have less formal education than any other identifiable ethnic group in the city. In 1960 about 87 percent of all Puerto Ricans over 25 in the city had never completed high school. In 1963, of nearly 21,000 academic diplomas granted in New York City, only 331 went to Puerto Ricans.

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> The statistics relating to the education of Indian children in this country are even more dismal. As late as 20 years ago, less than half of all school-age Navajo children were in school. The 1960 census figures show that 10 percent of all Indians over 14 years of age have had no formal school at all: nearly 60 percent have less than an eighth grade education and 50 percent of all Indian school children drop out before finishing high school.[1]

In 1969, statistics from Los Angeles showed a significant pattern of low scores on reading tests in predominantly Black and Chicano schools. Faced with such evidence, libraries, along with educational systems, are examining the processes which have produced this critical picture. The public library finds itself continuing to serve that minor portion of the community which has developed the facility for and the habit of reading.

Former Commissioner of Education, James Allen, Jr., on the subject of the right to read stated:

> It is my hope that in the coming years it will be possible to strengthen our libraries of all types—public, school, academic, research, and special libraries—so that the widest range of services may be extended to the widest range of people.
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> . . . . . .
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> Our libraries stand as testimony to our belief in the necessity of widespread availability of opportunities for learning. This availability stands only as a cruel mockery, however, for those whose lack of reading skill makes the world of libraries quite literally a closed book.[2]

An important question to ask then is: What valid function *can* the public library serve in an essentially non-reading community? Some related questions to be answered include:

1. What is the role of the children's librarian?
2. What are the goals of the public library? How does the children's librarian help to accomplish them?
3. What do librarians know about the children they serve?
4. How can the librarian aid in transmitting and translating knowledge without the ability to communicate?
5. Where should materials be gathered together so as to be conveniently available to children?
6. Can libraries afford to provide materials entirely based on pre-determined needs?

The role of the librarian cannot be separated from the role of the institution. Clear definitions of the job of the children's librarian are in effect determined by the library's goals. Ernest Roe, in discussing the role of school librarians, uses such terminology as "curator and servicer

of materials," "subject specialist," "cultural standard-bearer," "reading counselor," and "manipulator."[3] He finally suggests that "librarians by the thousands with the blessing of both library schools and schools of education, begin to clarify their educational role."[4] Whichever definition or term one chooses seems to indicate reaching out to children with and through information and literature.

In an effort to improve library service to children, many libraries have attempted to reach out through experiments in target communities (see appendices A-C). When initiating programs in areas of acute non-use, the trend has been to label prospective young patrons as "culturally deprived," "disadvantaged," "unreached," etc. Although any and all of these terms may become relevant as the problem is explored, it seems inappropriate to use categorizing and labeling as the method for isolating the institution's problems. If they are not given labels, nonusers become defined through the institution's attempts to achieve the goal of service.

In order to clearly state the institutional problem, libraries and librarians must look within. Library statistics, reports, and surveys show an unquestionable pattern of low circulation in minority and low income communities. There is little *service* where there is little *use*. The library, then, which proposes to provide free reading materials for the education and enjoyment of the whole community, is faced with the problem of justifying its existence.

Children's librarians have prided themselves on the collecting of appropriate literature for children. They glibly speak of providing reader guidance, doing reference, giving book talks, and telling stories. Many take pride in their ability to select books that are good for children, without being concerned for those who fail to take advantage of their good offerings. Some view themselves as providing the best for the most when in actuality they offer the most to the best.

Verbalizations about free access become mere rhetoric if many in the community still view the librarian as a "jailer of books." The librarian's *image* changes only as her or his *role* changes. There is little freedom where the librarian shelves the books and guards their use, screens those who enter and regulates their appetites, or executes fines for misuse and lateness. Freedom is largely based on knowledge; therefore, the community must be made aware of library services and the librarian must know the community. Florence Field discusses some needed changes in an article on branch libraries: "The Chicago Public Library is in the process of trying to find its bearings in the outside

world after being shut away from it for many years. . . . With the advice and cooperation of various agencies, groups, and individuals in the community, we started programs which we hoped initially would accomplish two things: first, bring the library to the attention of community residents and agencies to whom we had become all but invisible; and second, change the image of the library to that of an agency more involved in the life of the community."[5]

Many children's librarians have little knowledge of the community or children they serve. Courses in the sociology and psychology of childhood are seldom offered in library schools, nor are studies on issues pertinent to minority populations generally required. In establishing the changing role of the librarian, the inclusion of such courses in training programs is of prime importance.

Upon employment in a given community, provisions should be made for the children's librarian to gain further knowledge of the specific locale. Such information can be gathered through meetings with school personnel, parents, community leaders, recreation directors, and social workers. Still further insight will be gained through direct participation and conversation with children. With this background, the selection of materials for the library hopefully becomes a reflection of community needs. New methods of approaching the total community are indicated through seeing and hearing all of its expressed concerns. The librarian's role by necessity will then be changed. The following quote by Doris Bass outlines the steps taken at the Brooklyn Public Library in using community involvement and cooperation as a basis for establishing selection criteria:

> The definition of a camel is said to be a horse produced by a committee and the selection policy rendered by our committee is camel-like in that it is neither as graceful nor as strong as we wished it to be. It does, however, express a feeling that our changing community offers a challenge to our professional competence which we can meet. An individual's ability to adapt easily to change is a sign of psychic health and energy; it is equally imperative for an institution's survival. Finding ways to increase the library's responsiveness (and thereby its vitality) is an obligation we owe to ourselves as well as to our patrons and communities. If the institution becomes rigid and irrelevant, our public is cheated out of what is rightfully theirs and we are robbed of the opportunity for creative and stimulating work. If and when we learn to cope with—and accept the challenge of—change, we will have done much to insure the success of the marriage of library and community.[6]

As knowledge of the community is gained, institutional handicaps

become more readily apparent. One such handicap to serving children is often the library building itself. Robert Coles quotes a migrant child's reaction to his first day at school: "I was pretty scared, going in there. I never saw such a big door. I was scared I couldn't open it, and then I was scared I wouldn't be able to get out, because maybe the second time it would be too hard."[7] A library building which is not open and inviting can engender the same response from children. They might never enter that "big door" unless encouraged to do so. The logical person to extend an invitation is the librarian who will meet the child on his visits to the library.

Thus the trend toward more community involvement for librarians becomes increasingly valid. In meeting the children where they freely gather, the librarian helps to overcome many of their fears. Street corners, playgrounds, and such are more appropriate places to visit than the school, since the school and the library suffer from the same negative image. This by no means implies that the traditional school visit is no longer useful. Time has come, however, to consider meeting children in a formal setting as one technique and meeting them at play as another. Experiencing the variations in the child's attitudes, responses, and language while viewing him in several roles adds to the librarian's total learning.

In large urban centers, another library handicap is accessibility. If libraries in low income communities are not within walking distance or near public transportation, many children simply cannot get there. In such cases, several alternatives to service can be taken. First, the library could be relocated. Some have opened branches in storefronts, recreation centers, and even empty train cars. Providing for mobility has been one of the most successful alternatives. Small vans, storymobiles, bookmobiles, and converted school buses have been used to transport books to isolated areas. Schenectady County Public Library used taxicabs and shopping carts to take books to children. Vestpocket libraries and book deposits are being used to provide books for children in convenient locations.

New approaches do not always translate into the usual library and patron process. After assuaging the child's fears and taking the books to him, he still may not check out books. The librarian's orientation again comes into question. If the librarian's primary goal is imparting knowledge rather than checking out books, he or she will seek a variety of ways to communicate. Traditional storytelling and book talks are expanded to include other means of communication. Creative writing,

poetry readings, films, filmstrips, games, magic shows, pet shows, and many other methods are effective (see appendices A-C). These programs are valid as an entity unto themselves, although their success cannot be measured as a book circulation statistic. As Moustakas says, "When situations are arranged as invitations, even if it turns out that the resources become a significant means to self-growth for the other person, the outcome is unknown and unpredictable."[8]

For the librarian who continues to feel that the function of the library is *only* to promote books, there are many things to learn about their use with non-readers. For instrance, John Holt advances the idea that "the child who just comes in and looks through the books and leaves may be one of those many children not exposed to the reading process. For this child, this is an important step in learning."[9]

If the librarian insists upon concentrating only on books, it is imperative that the librarian consider helping the child learn to read. The degree of this help will be determined by the librarian's knowledge and ingenuity. For some, aid will be as direct as tutoring. Others will find that a large number of children in minority communities will *want* to read if new types of material are provided.

Materials which might offer incentive for a non-reader to learn to read might include comic books, informative flyers, bookmarks, etc. All of these can serve as invitations to the book. Use of paperbacks has been widely proclaimed as one method of overcoming the fears some children have of the hardcover book. Educators and librarians alike agree that it is important to provide materials the child can relate to ethnically and socially. As Dunn states: "Materials to be read should be personal, real, and important to the reader—[this] requires that teachers, school and community librarians, youth counselors, and parents join other community leaders in combined attempts to identify materials which have the interest magnitude described."[10] The librarian, because of her access to public resources, becomes the prime facilitator for the others aforementioned. This extends her role even further to being able to serve the adult community which influences the child's life.

Many questions including the following remain unanswered as the children's librarian and the rest of the library consider their changing role.

1. How much are attitudes a barrier to opening up communication between library and community? How can the library deal with this?
2. In the case of minorities, are there too few books which speak the

language and provide realistic portrayals to stock a children's collection truly reflective of the community? Should such collections remain as mere appendages to the traditional well rounded collection?

3. Have we instituted a system of libraries so complex that no matter what books we have, children will become discouraged with the processes of use?

Possibly some answers to the above questions can be found in the following quote:

> The resource may be presented without being connected to a goal but simply as an addition to the environment, placed there as a result of cues from the child, to be chosen and encountered or not, just as the child is free to choose any existing reality. Whether it has meaning depends on his own perceptions, on its value to him.
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> Thus, it is in these ways that the human environment contributes to the development of genuine selfhood: first, through confirming the [infant] young child as a being of noncomparable and nonmeasureable worth, in all the individual's particular ways and as a whole; second, by being a living person, genuine, whole, present, open to encounter, available as a source of learning and enrichment; third, by making available resources based on the growing person's own interests, directions and patterns of expression, resources which assist in extending and deepening experience, broadening horizons and expanding reality by furthering interest and meaning.[11]

After consideration of all the factors involved, the librarian's role may be foreseen as that of helping to open the book of life to children and young people while recognizing their different cultural advantages.

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4. Lucioli, Clara E., and Door, Mildred. "Begin with One Child," pp. 150-54.

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Holt, John. *How Children Learn*. New York, Pitman Pub. Co., 1967.

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Meyers, Arthur. "Pratt's Action Summer in Baltimore," *Top of the News*, 26: 273-81, April 1970.

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Naumer, Janet Noll. "American Indians: A Bibliography of Sources," *American Libraries*, 1:861-64, Oct. 1970.

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articles, presents opinions and suggestions in regard to books for and about minorities.

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1. Caldwell, Jay S., and Shnayer, Sidney W. "The Truth about Readiness," pp. 39-40.
2. Groff, Patrick. "Chall Revisited," pp. 34-36.
3. Howes, Virgil. "The Trouble with Johnny; What's Wrong with our Schools," pp. 32-33.
4. McCracken, Robert A. "Audiovisuals in Reading," pp. 37-38.
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APPENDIX A

Program Samples and Suggestions: Audiovisuals

Innovations in library service have found that audiovisuals are a major tool for attracting children to libraries and books. Film programs are becoming more popular with public libraries as a means by which literature and information can be communicated to children. Schools are putting much emphasis on the "media specialist." Some public libraries now train librarians in the use of hardware. New courses in the use of audiovisuals are also being offered by library schools.

Articles

Gillespie, John T. "Getting Started with Non-Print Media; Guides to Bibliographies," *Top of the News,* 25:402-05+, June 1969; and 26:262-64, April 1970. These two articles provide information on basic tools for setting up a non-print collection.

Also useful are the audiovisual sections titled "Screenings" which appear in each issue of *School Library Journal.* Reviews of films and filmstrips appear in the section titled "Recordings." A useful article on films is: Miller, Hannah. "Feature Films for Children," *Wilson Library Bulletin,* 45:560-71, Feb. 1971.

Suggested Programs

Film Festivals—Feature length films can be rented from several sources. (See above-mentioned articles by Gillespie.) Cartoon programs are offered as a package.

Filmstrips on Parade—Story filmstrips are scheduled at a convenient hour for free viewing.

Film Clubs—These clubs train young people to make 8mm. films and to use related hardware.

Tell It on Tape—Comments on books, poetry, and readings are recorded on cassette tape, and tape players are provided in the library for listening.

Listening Centers—Listening centers are common in school libraries. Some public libraries are now providing centers for listening to tapes and records. One center can accommodate at least ten children.

APPENDIX B

Program Samples and Suggestions: Creative Writing and Poetry

"It seems obvious that the best way to bring people into the library is to bring them in: Bring them in as *writers*, as thinkers. . . . let me suggest that you offer poetry to students. Poetry and more poetry." This quote is from the following article: Jordan, June M. "Our Eyes Have Grown," *School Library Journal*, 17:40-43, April 1970.

Many children's librarians have discovered that one of the best ways to relate to children in the inner-city is to allow them a chance to show their creativity through writing. Various techniques for involving children in writing programs have been used. Following is a random sampling of references:

Books

Jordan, June M., and Bush, Torri, comps. *The Voice of the Children*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

Joseph, Stephen M., ed. *The Me Nobody Knows; Children's Voices from the Ghetto* (Discuss Books). New York, Avon, 1969.

Koch, Kenneth. *Wishes, Lies and Dreams; Teaching Children to Write Poetry*. New York, Chelsea House Publishers, 1970.

Library Publications

The following library publications are available by writing to the library indicated:

"Chicory"—Enoch Pratt Free Library, 400 Cathedral Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201

"Kaleidoscope"—Prince George's County Memorial Library, 6532 Adelphi Road, Hyattsville, Maryland 20782

"Scrutinize"—Los Angeles Public Library, Venice Branch, 610 California Ave., Venice, California 90291

Articles

Larrick, Nancy. "Life Ain't Been No Crystal Stair—Reading Tastes in Poetry of Inner-City Youngsters," *School Library Journal*, 16:47-49, Feb. 1969.

"Libraries and the Arts," *Wilson Library Bulletin*, 45:744-62, April 1971. This section includes the following four articles:

1. Aksel, Sophie C. "Will Shakespear Knew That All Along," pp. 754-57.
2. Buelna, Joseph L. "Creative Writing: The Inner Eye," pp. 750-53.

3. "Roundup of Art Action in Libraryland," pp. 758-62. (There is creative writing on p. 760.)
4. Sager, Donald J. "Working with Foundations: How to Start a Local Arts Council," pp. 744-49.

Tate, Binnie. "Creative Play with Poetry"—a demonstration in reading, writing, reciting, and listening to poetry. (Available from Mrs. Johanna Sutton, Federal Project Office, Los Angeles Public Library, 630 W. Fifth St., Los Angeles, California 90017.)

APPENDIX C

A Specific Program—"Book Baggers"

The Junipero Serra Branch of the Los Angeles Public Library is located across the street from an elementary school in a predominantly Black, low income neighborhood. The "Book Bagger" program was planned in an effort to promote school-public library cooperation and to show what public library enrichment programs can do to help the slow reader. An effort was also made to provide cultural enrichment.

Brief Program Outline

1. The librarian consulted with the principal to ask permission for a group of slow readers to visit the library once a week.
2. Upon agreement, a consultation was held with the principal and a special reading teacher who would bring the children.
3. Informality and free exploration were agreed upon as the approach for the program.
4. Each child was provided with a bag to carry paperbacks, thus the name "Book Baggers." They were allowed to select freely from a random sampling of paperbacks, most of which were scholastic publications.

Evaluation (as submitted by the regular classroom teacher)

The "Book Baggers" were composed of boys and girls from my middle reading group who were reading below grade level. These children met with the librarian, Mrs. Binnie Tate, once a week for approximately 45 minutes.

The purposes of this library period were to stimulate interest in reading and language, to broaden their experiences through exploratory reading, listening to stories, dramatization, creative writing and oral expression.

These purposes were admirably accomplished as shown by the increased number of books which were checked out and read by the children, the enthusiasm engendered at each class session, the carry-over of experiences to the classroom situation and the pride of accomplishment felt when the group wrote a poem with the help of Mrs. Tate and presented it at a school assembly.

Besides the fulfillment of the purposes, there were some extra benefits. These included the opportunity for me, the teacher, to observe my group in

a non-classroom environment, to observe their responses and reactions to the more relaxed and spontaneous atmosphere engendered by Mrs. Tate. I was able to use this extra knowledge in making my plans for them. The growing self-awareness and racial pride were also additional benefits enhancing this program. The cooperation between school and public library is, I feel, an important step in community involvement which is increasingly valuable to the education of our children.

I heartily recommended the continuation and the enlargement of this program. I wish that many more classes could share the benefit of this program.

MRS. SARAH WILLIAMS, *Teacher,*
Vernon Avenue Elementary School

Sample Programs Utilized

1. Filmstrip program
2. Storytelling and acting out
3. Poetry writing session
4. Song festival with guest folk singer
5. African songs and dances

School Library Service to the Disadvantaged Student

MILDRED P. FRARY

THE INCREASE in the school age population after 1945 and mass movements from rural and small town areas to metropolitan areas between 1950 and 1960 had a dramatic impact on school libraries. The schools, engulfed in students, were forced to supply buildings, personnel, and services from the taxes of a numerically more limited generation. To add to the problem, a large part of this migration consisted of unskilled and semi-literate laborers, mostly Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican, who moved to the ghettos and barrios of the inner-city. At the same time, the movement of more prosperous residents and business out of the central city caused an erosion of the tax base of public school support. Existing school libraries found themselves facing a new school population and almost complete renewal.

Traditionally dedicated to the support of the curriculum, the school library found itself coping with problems of relevancy. While libraries had been essentially book oriented, an alarming percentage of the disadvantaged had language and perceptual inadequacies and could not read. Already victims of a low self-image as a result of social and economic discrimination, these students found library resources academically oriented and geared to a white, middle class society. The concept of the "right book for the right child," and the librarian's inner conviction that this book, when found, would motivate, create dreams, and lead to great accomplishments, met with frustration. The gap between the real world of the socially and educationally disadvantaged student and the expectations of the school program became evident.

The provision of adequate school library facilities was a major problem. The inner-city school was the old school. Increased school population prevented expansion of existing library facilities, and limited funds

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prevented building new libraries. While secondary schools had libraries, elementary schools had comparatively few. Districts attempting conversions of existing facilities in inner-cities were deterrred by the wave of incoming students while suburbs undertook an extensive building program which often included library facilities. The disadvantaged had their own feelings about public buildings. While the more fortunate or more socially oriented family may have instilled a reverence for free libraries and library buildings in their children, the school building and its library with mysterious walls of books, and its charging desk looking more like a barrier than a functional piece of equipment, tended to give some disadvantaged a feeling of being institutionalized. Public buildings tended to mean trouble rather than accomplishment and a sense of well-being.

The education of the school librarian included work with the "special" student. Programs for gifted, "reluctant," physically handicapped, and mentally handicapped were under way and usually had special funding of some kind. The special needs of the inner-city and rural disadvantaged that were to reach 15 percent of the United States population in the 1960s, had yet to be a concentrated part of library education. Since Havighurst reports that socially disadvantaged are now present in all but the very high income communities,[1] it seems unlikely that anyone committed to a career in public education could escape facing the issues and changes involved.

In the years since 1945, a number of developments converged to make way for the school library to play a major role in educational programs designed to fill the needs of the disadvantaged. The curriculum content to fill these needs has been expressed by Passow and Elliott as: (1) compensatory—to make up deficits in experience and knowledge; (2) developmental—to incorporate basic skills which everyone needs as a part of general education; and (3) evaluative—to encourage choices of values to help all students live effectively in a complex, changing society.[2]

To be an effective part of this program, the school library had to undergo a change brought about by technology. Information was being produced and transmitted in formats other than the traditional book. The acceptance of the school library as a materials center is evidenced in the professional writings[3] following the 1960 publication by the American Association of School Librarians of the *Standards for School Library Programs.* This acceptance and development were vital to educational programs for the disadvantaged. Taba and Elkins point out

that children with meager backgrounds in experience, reading, and language do not learn under traditional conditions of standardized expectations regarding performance, uniformity of materials, and pacing.[4] They recommend the strategy of providing for heterogeneity in the use of a greater range of materials including "pictures, films, and tape recordings to supplement or even supplant the textbooks."[5] They also anticipate the production of material by teachers and recommend content of initiatory experiences having close bearing on the immediate concerns of the disadvantaged. Spiegler recommends television and motion pictures as effective means of generating reading interests in ghetto high school students.[6] By 1969, the marriage of "print" and "audiovisual" was consummated in the publication of *Standards for School Media Programs.*[7] By 1970, the Commission on Instructional Technology had collected evidence that instructional technology was helping teachers to establish new educational contacts with poor children. "Limited as it is, experience to date suggests that technology could help solve major instructional problems of schools in districts serving poor and minority-group students. Cameras and recorders, for example, help to dilute the over-verbalism of schools and relate education dramatically to the students' out-of-school life. These and other media foster original expression and help make learning more individual and effective."[8]

Since society demands literacy of each individual and the ultimate involvement of a literate person is with the world of print, the school library found itself a focal point for the search for readable and relevant books for the disadvantaged. Research is confirming the educational value of the search. Since it is generally recognized that interest is essential in learning to read, some recent studies have assessed the impact of ethnic content in storybooks. John and Berney found that in a study of books used in several Head Start centers (each center being made up of a different ethnic group), ethnic content was a subtle variable. Its impact depended upon a variety of factors amongst which may be relative scarcity or abundance of books representing the child's own environment or the insularity of his ethnic group. For example, isolated Indian children were more concerned with the Indian-ness of a character than were Negro children in an urban area interested in a black character.[9] A Los Angeles study by Stanchfield indicated that Negro and Mexican-American children using new multi-ethnic materials achieved significantly more in reading than groups using traditional state texts.[10]

In the 1960s only a few high interest, low vocabulary books were in the secondary school collection. The "easy reading" book for the newly independent elementary school reader was beginning to appear. Some librarians clung to the cult that deplored putting anything but great literature on a library shelf with the pale hope that literacy suddenly blossomed with a Newbery Award book in hand. Others hounded publishers until the hoped-for "relevant" materials began to appear. With individualized reading a cornerstone to many programs, each new title with urban, ethnic, or "tell-it-like-it-is" background was considered eagerly for guided or independent use by students. The acquisition of relevant materials was not, and still is not, an easy task. Selection criteria demanded a search for truth, particularly in black and brown literature. While students read or just carried in hand books reflecting their own ghetto life and heroes, school districts felt uncomfortable having library books telling it like it is. The uneasiness is not new. Many school and children's librarians will remember the controversy over giving children the realism painted in Lois Lenski's regional stories in the 1950s.

In 1965, Larrick's study of 5,000 trade books published for children in 1962, 1963, and 1964 found that only four-fifths of 1 percent tell a story of Negroes today, and most of these are mediocre.[11] Blatt found the Mexican American barely represented in 1968, listing only thirty-two books meeting the criteria.[12] The Southwest, with its Mexican-American and native American populations, has often been considered too restricted geographically in sales interest to warrant publication ventures. Haro's survey of Mexican Americans in East Los Angeles and Sacramento showed a preference for libraries where Spanish is spoken and where Hispanic materials are available. Respondents felt a general apathy toward libraries. Sixty-five percent had used only school libraries. Teen-agers and young adults criticized the lack of Chicano materials and writers. "On the whole, young Mexican Americans wanted libraries to carry more activist literature about Mexican-American political movements, Brown power, and material on what makes Chicanos tick."[13]

A glance through a list of selected bibliographies of multi-ethnic media prepared by the American Association of School Librarians Committee on Treatment of Minorities in Library Books and Other Instructional Materials shows an increased number of books available at the beginning of the 1970s, particularly on Negro history and literature. The poverty of materials in Spanish and by and about other concerned

ethnic groups continues.[14]

A third area affecting school library service to the disadvantaged has been the advent of state and federal programs for support for education. Prior to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, the Economic Opportunity Act provided limited funds for some programs. Title III of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) provided equipment and materials not necessarily devoted to poverty of children. Title II B of the Higher Education Act (HEA), through 1970, trained or retrained 4,700 school librarians. Many institutes concentrated on the needs of the disadvantaged with particular emphasis, in the most recent institutes, being given to training the disadvantaged for service in libraries. The urgency of this training as a priority item can be exemplified by a need in the East Los Angeles area mentioned in the Haro study.[15] While the schools of East Los Angeles have the children of 75 percent of California's Spanish-speaking population, the Los Angeles City Unified School District can identify only two Spanish-speaking school librarians. The U. S. Office of Education, through grants supported by ESEA Title IV and HEA Title II B, is currently funding projects in Philadelphia and Los Angeles that will have direct influence on school library service to disadvantaged. The Philadelphia project is a cooperative effort of school and public libraries and is concerned with student use. The Los Angeles project is concerned with the study and development of an automated system which will provide multi-district information about materials. The Media-Selection Center Study of the National Book Committee, also funded by the Office of Education, will possibly solve some of the problems of search, evaluation and sharing of information about materials.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was a monumental step in federal support of educational programs for the poor. School library services benefited either from grants under an individual title or a combination of grants from Titles I, II and III. Title I, limited to a defined group of disadvantaged, provided facilities, equipment, personnel, and materials. Title II is limited to the provision of school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials. States are required to develop a plan for distribution of funds based on relative need for materials rather than the poverty of the child. This makes almost every child in the nation potentially eligible. Title III provides supplementary centers and services to develop exemplary instructional programs.

The Title I statistical reports of 1967 and 1968 indicate library service as the most popular service activity in both years, reaching over 3 million children. Of major importance to the programs was the ability to hire school librarians and supportive staff from Title I funds. In 1967, 2.2 percent of the personnel expenditure went for 7,810 librarians; in 1968, the 2.2 percent remained constant for 4,406 librarians.[16]

A special report of the U.S. Office of Education, *How ESEA Title II Meets the Educational Needs of Poor Children,* makes an analysis of the effect of Title II on the disadvantaged using the same criterion of poverty as is specified in Title I.[17] In the first two years, up to 84 percent of Title I children also benefited from Title II. States have either used their Title I formula or have weighted factors in their relative need formulas giving consideration to poverty areas. Special purpose grants, usually for exemplary media centers, were allocated to 991 libraries in the fiscal years 1966, 1967, and 1968. This type of grant implies school district support from regular funds or coordination with other grants. As might be expected, the most extensive coordination of Title II was with Title I of ESEA and Title III of NDEA. These combinations offered possibilities for facilities, equipment, staff, and materials.

While Title I certainly promoted quality programs for the poor, there was no specified requirement for quality materials. Title II required that criteria for selection of the school library resources be provided for in the state plans. If the selection of materials for school libraries in poverty programs is to be legal, as well as effective, it should be based on established criteria taking into account the special needs of the educationally disadvantaged.

In spite of the support from these various sources, the 1968 report of the National Advisory Commission on Libraries "noted that libraries in schools serving educationally deprived children appear to be extremely deficient, and it would be advisable to bolster the library assistance provided by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act with supplementary legislation to help solve this problem in our large cities where so many disadvantaged children reside."[18]

In the 1970s, the keynote is accountability. With the rigors of Program-Planning-Budgeting System (PPBS) ahead, the school library may be partitioned by the objectives of instructional programs. The effect may be better funding for materials and services related to programs. Another effect may be the indication of areas wherein it becomes obvious that the media center is a leadership and creative unit rather than only a support unit. Instructional materials service has little

in the area of research to show a measure of success or failure.

A study of the effects of new media centers and materials on elementary schools of selected ghetto neighborhoods was made by the U.S. Office of Education in May 1968.[19] The study included nine elementary schools in three large school districts and showed evidence that:

1. media center programs were lagging behind instructional innovation,
2. accessibility to printed materials organized for use was the service most appreciated by teachers,
3. materials did not effectively meet special needs of pupils but did support the instructional program,
4. 99 percent of the pupils voiced enthusiasm over accessibility of materials, and
5. scheduling policy affected accessibility and attitudes toward the center.

The study did not show any affect on reading scores. However, since the centers had been in operation only a short time, no conclusion was drawn.

School library services do not seem to lend themselves to evaluations that can be reported on an exacting quantifiable basis. The multiplicity of variables defeats answers to questions of appreciation, reading scores, and success in use of materials. It is thought that only in the study of an individual's development will the real impact be known. A study made of Sobrante Park Elementary School in Oakland, California, has probably revealed more about school library service to disadvantaged children than we have known thus far.[20]

The program of Sobrante Park, a borderline disadvantaged school, is highly individualized. Borderline schools suffer from not being disadvantaged enough; thus in a community becoming increasingly impoverished, the schools usually decline with no special compensatory funding to stem the tide. The struggle to find other money to fund staff, equipment, and capital outlay can be defeating. Sobrante Park found funds and, as a result, qualified for an ESEA Title II Special Purpose Grant for materials for an exemplary media center project.

In general, the teacher evaluation showed a favorable effect on student motivation. The highest tally for any single item on an evaluation sheet indicated that the media center is effective in "leading students to self discovery." Student evaluations showed recognition of and pleasure in the use of many kinds of media. Older children showed pleasure in taking media and equipment home, and later frequently discussed fam-

ily use such as reviewing and listening done by mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters. Both students and teachers expressed a need for more materials and audiovisual equipment.

Case studies in the project showed that the relaxed, creative, and individualized atmosphere of the media center contributed to the better behavior and academic achievement of some students who were heavy users of the center. Among these were educationally handicapped children with severe emotional or behavioral problems upon whom the center may have had a therapeutic effect.

An interesting result appeared in a study of findings of the McHugh-McFarland Reading Readiness Test, although the evaluation team cautioned that the findings are only conjecture since a study of kindergarten classes was not intended to be a part of the media center evaluation. One of four homogeneous kindergarten classes scored consistently higher than the other three classes. Media center circulation records and observation of the librarian showed that the teacher of the high scoring class provided many experiences in independent use and handling of materials in addition to her own classroom use of multi-media approaches to learning. The other three classes had only traditional experiences. The teacher indicated that the use of media contributed to development of visual discrimination and identification of letters.

The Sobrante Park Media Center Study pointed the way to needed controlled studies to confirm the conjecture that accessible media in many formats can contribute to success in the learning and teaching of disadvantaged students.

A current trend of concern to school library service to the disadvantaged is the decentralization of large school districts into smaller but related units. Inherent in this concept is increasing community participation in the discussions basic to educational programs and priorities. The effects of this trend on school libraries are not known at this time. Emphasis upon local determination of use of funds is another factor encouraged in decentralization. Currently, tax and bond elections are failing. Public confidence in education seems shaken. New forms of revenue are needed to rescue the urban schools and their hopes for relevant library services. Enrollments are beginning to decline and though this represents some loss of total funds, the frantic pace of building classrooms has ceased. Capital outlay funds can concentrate on rebuilding and remodeling old facilities wherein are concentrated most of the disadvantaged. How a school library looks, sounds, feels and smells is important.

For the decade of the 1970s then, it seems that school library service to the disadvantaged will realize educational objectives in the same measure as education survives the current transformation or rebirth. The following points are conjecture but evidence seems to support them:

1. Impoverished communities now participating in decisions relating to expenditure of funds for education will put high priority on school library service but will not be able to finance the service desired. New funding sources will be needed.
2. Since the school is visible and familiar, communities will request services traditionally within the province of public libraries, such as collections for parents. Cooperative efforts of both agencies will be needed to prevent turning off parental interest and enthusiasm so badly needed by both.
3. Concentrated efforts for the development of literacy will demand greater availability of materials and personnel involved with providing motivation and experiences as well as skills. The materials for school library listening and viewing can reach the student's whole family. The members of this family are indirectly learning. The catalyst is the librarian or teacher. Current manpower studies may settle some questions of staffing. The decade will probably see more dependence upon volunteer services in the total educational community to assist professionals. The right to read program seems to point in this direction.
4. While individual schools and their communities become more independent in the management of educational affairs, the smaller unit will look with some suspicion on traditional "centralized" evaluation and recommendation of materials. However, the need for networks of descriptive information about materials and their success in use in specific learning situations will increase. State and federal support of programs, personnel, and supporting technology will be needed.
5. The poverty of research itself must somehow be surmounted. The library in the school seems unable to account for its expense except by explaining that it makes a standard set of materials available for a time when they all or in part might be needed, though the concept of total collection availability is basic to all our freedoms to acquire information as desired. The media centers developing in innovative ways today are each an experiment in what is believed to make teaching and learning possible, exciting, and relevant. Much of what happens to an individual when he becomes involved with books, filmstrips, records, art prints, films, etc., escapes research.

Almost everything stated here about school library service to the disadvantaged can be applied to service to any other student. The problems differ in timing and emphasis and the amount of compensation needed to insure the possibility that all young people will become reasonably happy, educated, and contributing members of a multi-ethnic and technological society.

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Provisions and Programs for Disadvantaged Young People

JANE MANTHORNE

"LACKING MOVIE HOUSES, coffee houses, drop-in centers, and book stores, many can find few places or activities they care to plug into, except perhaps for their local street corner."[1] Speaking is a librarian who recently made a notable service contribution to some of Boston's disadvantaged young adults. Andrea Brooks's efforts will be cited later, but the key point to be made here is the route she pursued, a route which began with her commitment to reach young adults "alienated not only from books and the linear process of reading but also from the enclosed institution of the library itself."[1] Important at the earliest stage of her project was the acquisition of full knowledge of the young people in her community which resulted in a composite profile of the youth she hoped to reach.

Such sources of data on local teen-agers include census figures, welfare and social agencies, the school department (especially for data on dropouts), local employment agencies, housing authorities, anti-poverty organizations, and groups serving special ethnic segments of the population.[2] But such information is only a start in the librarian's outreach efforts. Demography with its faceless statistics scarcely prepares the librarian for the restless, uncertain, challenging flesh-and-blood young people themselves.

In addition to local data available from the sources cited above, the librarian must turn to the published observations of the social scientist, data extracted with intellectual detachment from many sources. Newton Metfessel reminds us that disadvantaged young people have a "cognitive style which responds more to visual and kinesthetic signals than oral or written stimuli."[3]

And proving the point at the scene of the action, for example at

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Maryland's High John Library Project, we watch, as innovator Richard Moses did, the monstrous generator sending a beam into the night sky, we watch outdoor movies, and we hear the Diamond Cyclones tuning up their nine pieces of amplified sound—pulsating examples of visual, kinesthetic signals![4]

Thus the librarian feels his way on two levels: through the educated view of the social scientist and through his own explorations. Ultimately, well buttressed with such data he is prepared to meet the *individuals out there.* A young adult worker in Boston remembers her initial surprise at discovering that many of the black teen-agers she was working with in Roxbury were ski enthusiasts. Somehow, from background data on urban blacks, she had expected their sports interests to be circumscribed by judo and basketball.[5]

Librarians making a commitment to reach disadvantaged young adults give priority to arriving at a profile of young people in their community. They get to know the "kids" and where the kids are at. According to Verna Ballentine of the Oakland Public Library, being a teen-ager in some parts of her community meant that "usually there is not enough money in the family even for trips to nearby cities such as San Francisco or Berkeley."[6] Freshley and Forte described the world and people of the housing development in which they brought a library into being: "The world of the housing development is a different world from the one most of us live in. . . . We live in a world that is horizontal . . . houses and people are spread out. The world of the housing development is a vertical world . . . people piled on top of people."[7]

And a librarian in the Sacramento City-County Library summarizes the disadvantaged's world this way: "The concern of the young adult is not books. Books have little meaning when there are hunger, rats, roaches, and lack of a decent home life to contend with."[8] In speaking of the "have-not" youngsters in their community of Canton, Ohio, librarians Merlin Wolcott and Janet Polacheck agree that the young adult is caught between two worlds, "one dying and one powerless to be born," and—thus trapped—he does not know whether to be "proud, belligerent, violent, passive, ambitious or without hope."[9]

Sounding a warning note that public libraries may not be ready to welcome in the flesh the young people they aspire to reach on paper, one young adult librarian in Boston gives a candid view of the behavior of his community's dropouts: "[they] possess annoying habits such as cigarette smoking when and if they can get away with it, congregating in the vestibule in large numbers on cold days, defacing walls,

making a great commotion, and greatly disturbing 'legitimate' library patrons. . . . It is my idealistic hope that libraries reach this 'undesirable' section of society in some way, and that they do not continue to be neglected, as they have been by much of society and its institutions."[8]

In addition to getting a clear profile of its target young people, the library re-articulates its objectives as Meredith Bloss did in establishing the New Haven Library Center: "We are *not* out to make readers out of nonreaders; to instill the love of books *per se*; to increase library usage or attendance."[9] Or perhaps we phrase our major goal in the words of Regina Minudri as she looked at the first public library substitute of California's Federal Young Adult Library Services Project (YAP) which was dedicated to "attract those kids who don't and won't use the public library for whatever reason."[10] So we restate our objectives: to change the image of the library from an establishment place, a bastion of middle class mannerliness, to a living, changing idea place, a people place. We change our focus on reading to an emphasis on ideas, thinking and communication. We let down rules a little and build up individuality and self-esteem.

With objectives restated, potential young adult users located and profiled, the librarian stands ready to find and try various ways of reaching the unreached. For the library moving beyond the traditional bounds of services, the way is easier than it was four or five years ago. Pathfinders have already made an attempt, and they provide handholds for the next pioneers. Their efforts, revealed in library literature and in questionnaires developed for this article, will serve, hopefully, as models for a new breed of librarians prepared to cope with an old breed of libraries.

A good start for beginning pioneers is the "Guidelines for Library Service to Disadvantaged Youth"[13] spelled out by a committee of the American Library Association's Young Adult Services Division in 1966. Five years later the guidelines still remain accurate in terms of library location, staffing, programming, materials, and administration. Also useful is *Rural Library Services to Disadvantaged Youth* for its comprehensive scan of ways to bring rural young people into the library scene.

The essential elements cited in these guidelines revolve around youth involvement, programming, media and paperbacks, outreach, and cooperation with community agencies. The words which reverber-

ate from the action are informality, mobility, spontaneity, creativity, and competitiveness.

Youth involvement has been defined as the "participation of youth (teens and early twenties) in decision-making regarding policies and programs that have direct or indirect impact upon themselves. Obviously this includes participation from the target population of youth, e.g., poverty groups, offender groups, students, or ghetto youngsters, depending upon the program mission."[13] Libraries directing their efforts to offering services to disadvantaged young adults readily admit the essentiality of youth involvement.

In 1963 librarians of the Boston Public Library firmly supported this view when they formalized a long-standing deference to youth involvement in their pamphlet *Guidelines on Young Adult Councils in the Boston Public Library*. They phrased the need for the voice of young people in the library this way: "Young people are joiners, they have valid ideas that deserve to be heard, and they want to take their place in the community. Put all this together and you have the natural basis for a Young Adult Council."[14] Thus committed, libraries constantly rely on their teen-age patrons (within the formal structure of a council, or informally) to aid in furthering library objectives—in book selection, programming, school-library contacts, and in outreach activities. In a recent experiment in youth involvement, four young people of mixed ethnic and economic background told an assemblage of Boston librarians their candid views on libraries—why they go to libraries, how they are served when they get there, and what their version is of the ideal public library.[15] In a taping of Roxbury teen-agers' views of the library, one young man described the state of library use: "Look at the door man, watch how many cats you see going inside. Not many, man, not many."[16] Other libraries are turning to their young patrons increasingly for active participation in advice and decision-making. The Orlando (Florida) Public Library finds the Youth Council invaluable. Now in action more than two years, the council shares in creative programming, such as the "Your Local Government" series for citizens and students.[17] In her analysis of disadvantaged youth, Barbara Kemp says, "Perhaps the greatest source of strength among disadvantaged youth is the resourcefulness with which most of them cope with the difficult conditions of life."[18] This same resourcefulness can be translated into a force for improved performance by public libraries. So convinced of this is the Lubbock City-County Library in Texas that it is considering

setting up a young adult library board to participate in regular board meetings, at least in an advisory capacity.

Young adults with a listened-to voice in library planning are earnest advocates of programs inside and outside the library. For the purist who tries to detect clear-cut relationships between given programs and book-centered objectives, many programs seem thoroughly remote from library objectives. But for young people and librarians who see libraries as communication centers where information and ideas can be transmitted with dynamism and vitality, there appears to be little which is beyond the purview of library sponsorship. So, increasingly, from coast to coast, libraries resound with the music of the now generation, with the heave and ho of judo demonstrations, with the tempo of things happening. For the often non-verbal disadvantaged young adult, the visual, kinesthetic elements of such programs are right.

Interestingly enough, programs directed to disadvantaged young adults bear, in both content and format, a remarkable similitude to programs for advantaged young adults. It appears that the same dominant tastes, fads, and interests of teen-agers pervade North, South, East and West, cross economic strata, and transcend ethnic differences. As a committee of the Young Adult Services Division has summarized it, "the interests of 'disadvantaged' youth in slum areas are as diverse as those of teenagers throughout society."[19] For this reason examples of programming for advantaged youth which might well be duplicated (with appropriate modification) in less affluent neighborhoods will be cited in this paper.

Recurring themes in programs (and, of course, in materials selection) are drugs, self-defense, cars, legal rights, the war (Vietnam), magic and astrology, sex education, sports, black history, folk music, fashion, and teen psychology. In the Oxon Hill Branch of Prince George's County Memorial Library (Maryland), a series on drugs features a senator's representative speaking on drug legislation, a showing of drug films, and a speaker on "Working with the Addicted." A few states away in Boston's Brighton Branch Library a drug series features a street priest and a panel of former teen-age drug users. The Free Library of Philadelphia calls its program "How was the Trip?" and offers a play showing the effects of drugs on an average family.

In response to concern about the war in Vietnam and consistent with public library "fairness," the Boston Public Library offered three treatments on the Asian war: one by a recently returned army engineer who took his youth and his camera to war, a second by a Quaker who

had worked in several countries of Southeast Asia, and a third by the son (a student at Harvard) of a U. S. ambassador to a country close to the conflict. The Free Library of Philadelphia responded to the interests of its teens with a Patriots for Peace film program.

Similar variations on a theme are repeated in public libraries throughout the country as they endeavor to appeal to action-minded teen-agers who are often non-users of libraries. A sampling of activities shows a multitude of program formats: speakers, films, panel presentations, rap sessions, demonstrations, and discussions. Here is a brief view of specific examples:

1. In the Canton (Ohio) Public Library a group calling themselves the Black Pow-Wow meets to discuss matters of concern with members of the community, ranging from businessmen to policemen.
2. The Los Angeles Public Library (West Valley Region) sponsors a three-band rock program.
3. The Kansas City (Missouri) Public Library announces Saturday "reel breaks" for young adults, highlighting films of current interest.
4. The Free Library of Philadelphia sponsors "The Heavy Weights" for young adults, a film discussion series on pressing issues such as war, poverty, pre-marital sex, and drugs.
5. Oakland (California) Public Library holds a Job Information Day with counseling on how to apply for a job, how to act in an interview, how to hold a job. Also sponsored is a college clinic for college aspirants.
6. The Grove Hall Branch of the Boston Public Library presents an evening of *soul sound* inviting black teen-agers to "Come hear your sisters sing the music of today."
7. The East Los Angeles Library presents "Teatro Popular de la Vida y Muerte," a Chicano theater from Long Beach State College.

Fashion, sex education—all the "in" subjects with teens are program ingredients across the country. One of the most unique and timely teen programs was held at the Oxon Hill Branch of Prince George's County Memorial Library. Five hippies met with an irrepressible group of heckling, hostile, curious young people, and—despite a stink bomb and egg-throwing—described the philosophy behind their life style.[20] Programs like "Rent a Hippie" succeed in bringing young people *into* libraries, but there are few such *au courant,* attention grabbing possibilities.

Since many disadvantaged young adults are so classified because of their membership in ethnic groups which have been the target of prejudice, libraries particularly try to pay tribute—in programs, publica-

tions, and materials selection—to the cultural backgrounds of community young people. Libraries in Amarillo (Texas), Salt Lake City (Utah), Colorado Springs (Colorado), Boston, and elsewhere offer staff-made book lists and bibliographies for their minority groups and for the wider population who should learn about minority cultures. Notable among such publications are the dramatic book lists published by the Denver Public Library. Extensive materials lists on Indian, Negro, and Mexican heritages are enclosed in artistically designed covers in motifs consistent with each culture.

Other tributes to minority cultures include the Ontario City (California) Library's observation of holidays important in Mexico, such as Cinco de Mayo and 16 de Septiembre; the Los Angeles Public Library's participation in the three-night Las Posadas, cooperatively with other organizations and attracting more than a thousand people; the Queens Borough (New York) Public Library's invitation to young adults in its "Have Fun in Fun City"[21] to attend street festivals honoring Italian saints' days and other minority events; and the plans of the Boston Public Library to make parade floats in celebration of Puerto Rican Independence Day on July 25 and the Chinese New Year.

Such efforts in libraries serving ethnic minority groups provide a sense of pride and involvement in participants, and—it is hoped—make the public library a little more public.

Whether the programs focus on the cultural heritage of teen-agers, or simply on their special interests and fads, they depend frequently on intensive use of audiovisuals. For the non-verbal young person films can offer a mind-awakening, stretching, growing experience. As Moses phrased it in ALA's *Non-Book Materials for Have-Not Youth*, "They [the young adults] see a dogsled, react to a marching band, identify with a swooning teenager, experience an angry father, lift with a jet plane, wonder at a sunset; they hear a song from Alaska, a steel drum from Trinidad, an echo from the past, a ringing from the future."[22]

In libraries across the country from Bridgeport to Baltimore and beyond, young adults are watching the story of Phoebe and her pre-marital pregnancy, or the long-distance runner and his loneliness, or the carpenter carrying his cross through the city. They are attending film series like "Flickout" and Philadelphia's "Where It's At." They want way-out, experimental films, comic films, horror films, judo films. And films are working. Teens in disadvantaged neighborhoods are going where the movies are—in the library parking lot on summer evenings, curbside next to the bookmobile, or even in the library!

In serving teens, libraries need to build in other provisions for experiential expansion or for broadening cultural horizons—call it whatever one chooses. Film showings can do this in part, but library-sponsored field trips are invaluable ways of stretching young people's views of the world beyond their neighborhoods. Alexander Frazier, in his presentation of the need for compensatory education for the culturally disadvantaged put it this way: "They need all kinds of encounters with the unfamiliar."[23] The Boston Public Library has tried "encounters with the unfamiliar" in the shape of field trips to the airport, the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, a session of the Massachusetts legislature, a beauty culture school, a film showing of "A Man for All Seasons"—all part of a "Library Inside-Out" program for experiential growth.

In her description of the characteristics for learning evinced by disadvantaged youth, Barbara Kemp points out that "They are creative, motivated, and proficient in areas where their interests lie."[24] It is to the creative side of the too often failure-oriented young person that libraries are particularly gearing their programs. Booklets of original reviews and writings, in which young people evaluate materials in an unfettered, uncensored format, or publish their own verse and art, are increasing. Baltimore's Enoch Pratt Free Library has its *You're the Critic,* the Nassau Library System has its *Scrutinize,* Prince George's County its *Bookworms,* Dallas its *Whangdoodle,* Boston its *In Books in Boston.* The Albany Public Library of Albany, Georgia, and other libraries have such publications in the planning stage.

Poetry, once remote from young adult tastes, has moved to an "in-now" priority in the past few years. Lydia LaFleur has held successful original poetry programs at the Countee Cullen Library in which teens of North Manhattan read their own works.[25] An unusually perceptive verse which was read at one of the Poetry Evenings in Harlem provides a message which could be applied to libraries in their beginning outreach efforts. In "The Affluent Society" young Baron Foxhall says:

> We make gestures to help the poor
> But can we let our consciences be pacified
> When so many have suffered and so many have died?
> Can we let these first efforts satisfy when there
> has to be more?[26]

From the Los Angeles Public Library's North Hollywood Branch comes the following report: "the Read-in group is stalled on poetry. Nothing else will do. Concentration is on two or three original poems and the plan to see them in print."[27]

In a double appeal to the creativity and competitiveness of young people, both the Queens Borough Public Library and the Boston Public Library have sponsored contests for young adults with a creative bent. Queens recently held a ballad writing competition asking only that the theme of the ballad relate in some way to the library. As the library's publicity release pointed out, "If Johnny Cash could write a ballad on Folsom Prison, anyone should be able to meet this challenge."[28]

Boston's competition invited answers to the question, "What is a city?" The verses, essays, and art which poured into the judges' hands have had far-reaching results. Published in a book by the Boston Public Library, many of the entries have been quoted or reprinted in books, newspapers, television, commercial 8mm. film, and, currently, one poem is being considered for a symphony. For the young people involved—some advantaged, some disadvantaged—the library has proved a force in their lives, a force for growth, attainment, and heightened self-esteem.

A sampling of other creative activities in public libraries includes projects ranging throughout the arts. A branch of the Sacramento City-County Public Library plans to inaugurate a painting class directed by a young resident. Art supplies will be donated, and the paintings will be displayed in the library. The Los Angeles Public Library sponsors a creative arts series at the Baldwin Hills Library with emphasis on original writing and drama. Fortunate in having noted poet Sam Cornish on its staff, Baltimore's Enoch Pratt Free Library has involved young people in creative projects in both drama and poetry. The Tampa (Florida) Public Library works with the Youth of Tampa Association in supporting extensive activities in the arts: folk singing, rock concerts, art films, and impressionistic dances. The Riverside (California) Public Library has sponsored an act-in for teens. The Queens Borough (New York) Public Library launched a four-day festival vibrant with creative activities and called it a "Maytime Maxi."

The most popular creative efforts by young people proceed in the direction of media-making: photographic impressions, slide-tapes, sound filmstrips, and films. Schools have pioneered such creativity with courses on film making; but public libraries, long involved in media use, are moving into media production. For two years now a group of black teen-agers in Boston's Roxbury branches have been scouting their neighborhoods with cameras in an effort to create a slide-tape called "Black Is Beautiful." In this particular example, the doing seems

to be as satisfying as the culmination of the project which remains, date-wise, indeterminate. So motivated are the members of the team that they prefer to do their own fund-raising to pay the costs of film and film processing. To defray such expenses they have publicized their services and have washed windows and cars, done housework, and even polished silver.

In another part of Boston, Andrea Brooks inspired and led to completion a singular creative effort among East Boston teen-agers. During a four-month period about twenty young people produced—from script to finished product—a fifteen-minute 16mm. film called "God Helps Those Who Help Themselves." The film depicts the emerging criminal adventures of a fourteen-year-old boy and includes a memorable death scene filmed in a casket of the local funeral home. Brooks's report of this project admits that many of the results and their tie-in with library goals remain intangible, but, she concludes, "When a usually inarticulate drop-out, almost unaware of his new habits of observation, comments excitedly about a beautiful frame, or when an undisciplined, bored 14-year-old spends half of his weekends earning money so he can spend the other half shooting the film he bought with it, the librarian feels that her reaching out has fulfilled his goals."[29]

Librarians contemplating film-making activities can learn from Brooks and from similar projects. Bordering the Bowery in the lower east side of Manhattan is a Puerto Rican neighborhood of run down tenements and small stores. The youngsters there often drop out, look futilely for jobs, then sometimes turn to drugs and crime. Lynne Hofer's article about this group, "Teenagers Bring a Unique Vision to Life around Them,"[30] provides inspiration and practical data on disadvantaged teens and film making.

In addition to "creating," young adults like to sit around and talk or rap; and public libraries recognize this proclivity. Bridgeport (Connecticut) reports trying out rap sessions. The Tulsa (Oklahoma) City-County Library encourages spontaneous discussion groups centered around current interests and problems of teen-agers. The public library in Amarillo (Texas) sponsors discussion groups for high school and college young people using timely issues and intercultural selections as source materials, and the Brownwood (Texas) Public Library is planning to inaugurate young adult discussion groups. The Carnegie Free Library in Sioux Falls (South Dakota) reports a lively summer enclave which was small in number but lively in involvement. To recite libraries using a discussion format with disadvantaged (and advan-

taged) young people would fill volumes. Actually, such an activity is a good starting point for the library experimenting in reaching young people. Teen-agers naturally congregate with their peers and rap. Success lies in finding the way to move the teens and their talk into the library scene.

While exhilarating programs within libraries are being tried, outreach by means of bookmobiles is proving particularly successful with young adults, the generation most attuned to wheels. Since 1968 the Queens Borough Public Library has sent forth a special Teenmobile, a library-in-action providing summer service for teens in poverty areas. Designed to attract young people, the mobile unit brings popular paperbacks, current long-playing phonorecords, and magazines into the home ground of teen-agers who may well be turned off by the traditional library.[31]

As part of its federally funded program for Latin Americans, Oakland plans to use a small bookmobile designated particularly for use in young adult services. New York State's Mid-York Library System has recently announced the acquisition of a special van for its outreach work with the underprivileged in Utica.[32] Called a "Whatz' It" van, the vehicle will provide a multi-media service. It is equipped with a 16 mm. projector and a rear-view daylight screen for sidewalk shows. Recordings will send forth the latest soul or rock music through a public address system. Paperbacks are bountiful. In addition to transporting materials, the Tulsa (Oklahoma) City-County Library provides action when it travels its route. It is not unusual for impromptu basketball games, parties, or drawing classes to "happen" for young adults at bookmobile stops.

In the summer of 1970 staff members of Rochester (New York) Public Library's Charlotte Branch took their library services to Charlotte Beach. The reports of librarian Dick Gervickas show dynamically how outreach can work and can locate a group of older young adults seldom seen in branch libraries. The visits to the beach area, says Gervickas, "allowed for a real give-and-take session between librarians and young adults." A sample afternoon at the beach happened like this: "Parked my station wagon by gate to beach area, displayed books on tail gate, roof, hood. Made several signs 'Roast and Read,' 'Borrow a Book,' etc. and taped them to wagon. Talked to strollers, people in area; told them what we were doing."[33] And the remarkable things they were doing included film showings at the bathhouse!

Outreach by bookmobile and other vehicles gets the message of libraries to young people who have freedom of movement within the community. Even more important is the provision of materials and services to institutionalized young people. The Salt Lake City Public Library offers occasional programs at a home for unwed mothers. Librarians of the Oakland Public Library and the Boston Public Library have been providing weekly services (book talks, deposits, film programs) to several homes for pregnant girls. The public library of Canton, Ohio operates a reading room at the county detention home and hopes to extend service to the Mental Health Center and to drug control centers.

In a program deserving emulation by libraries everywhere, the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library has achieved marked success in providing books for the inmates who are at the Erie County Jail. Unsentenced, awaiting trial, with no specific jobs, and nothing to fill their hours from morning to night, the men are responding to the recently instituted library service. Two staff members from the library work at the jail every Monday and Friday. They go into the cell-blocks with a truck full of books and acquaint inmates with their content.[34]

A word needs to be interjected here on the materials being successfully used in jail and other library outreach programs. In virtually every response to questionnaires asking how libraries try to reach disadvantaged young adults, the response was *paperbacks*: paperbacks in bookmobiles, in street libraries, ethnic collections in paperbacks, paperbacks in prisons. Paperbacks have undoubtedly revolutionized the image of libraries and reading. They appear indispensable in work with the disadvantaged.

The public library makes a mistake if it tries to go it alone to reach its unreached young patrons. The library definitely needs to be part of the community agency team. As Pauline Winnick, public library specialist in services to children and young people, Library Services Branch, U.S. Office of Education, has expressed the responsibility, "We should be part of the fraternity of professionals in the community."[35] Thus supported, the library is in a better position to find and contact young people, to provide unique rather than duplicative services, to cosponsor programs when advisable, to share facilities, and to communicate and cooperate with all community groups involved with youth. Thus when the Philadelphia Free Library offers a program on sex education, it turns to the Family Service of Philadelphia for a speaker;

Boston co-sponsors a judo program with the YMCA; the Tampa Public Library joins forces in its programming with the Youth of Tampa Association.

An encouraging example of the value of being on the community team comes from the Seattle Public Library. In a unique, one-of-its-kind effort, the chamber of commerce in Seattle runs a training consortium to bring disadvantaged citizens into the work force. In the four-week pre-job training period directed by the consortium, the library has a role, giving a three-lesson orientation. A preliminary evaluation of the library's effort says, "Many of them came as non-library users, and may continue to be non-library users, but they have a less negative attitude toward the institution."[36] And a wider positive result, apparent but not expressed, is the fine example of cooperation between the library and the chamber of commerce.

As a member of the team the library is in a position to help that group of young adults who are giving up one part of the establishment —school—and are scarcely ready for another part—jobs. The Free Library of Philadelphia has been active in its Reader Development Program in supplying bibliographies geared to the needs of the jobless and the dropouts. The Tulsa Public Library purchases special material geared to the educational needs of young adults, including vocational training guides and high school equivalency tests. The Mesa (Arizona) Public Library cooperates with special training classes in helping school dropouts obtain education and training. Many public libraries cooperate with private and public agencies in tutorial programs for dropouts and foreign-language speaking groups. As an example, the Oakland Public Library has met marked success with its tutorial program of the past two years and would like to expand to other parts of the city when the number of qualified tutors is increased. This year sixty-five tutors worked with 101 students on subjects ranging from mathematics to chemistry.

Another area in which all public libraries can give vital service to disadvantaged young adults is referral. No matter how limited its budget, how outmoded its plant, over a period of time a library can put together a community resources manual of the people, agencies, organizations and services (ongoing and emergency) available to help teens. In line with this necessary function, Tucson, Arizona cites as a paramount function its referral of disadvantaged young adults to other social, welfare, and health agencies where they may receive help with their problems. Such referral data are easily available if the library—as

a member of the community agency team—has built bridges to other groups.

Because the reach to disadvantaged teens is so evolutionary (and untried still in many libraries) this paper has included examples of service ranging from the near-traditional to truly innovative programs. It is quite accurate to say that what is experimental for one library may seem—in the evolutionary stream—archaic in another. This paper has concentrated more on examples of service than on evaluations simply because little evaluation is available. It is expected that 1971 will yield the results of several studies currently in progress under the sponsorship of the U. S. Office of Education and the American Library Association. Pending the publication of evaluative studies, public libraries committed to reaching disadvantaged young adults will do well to contemplate and come up with answers to the following vital questions:

1. Are libraries really ready to welcome inside the institution the *people out there* with their different life styles, languages, and values?
2. Would libraries serve the disadvantaged areas best if, in these areas, they were under community control?
3. Is successful service to disadvantaged young adults only possible in libraries which have already made a commitment—in budget and philosophy—to serving young adults in general?
4. Will the measurement of results against cost show that reaching the unreached is too expensive for public libraries to undertake?
5. To reach teen-agers is it necessary to divorce the library serving teens from its parent organization, as in the case of teen bookmobile service, the High John Project, the Federal Young Adult Project Libraries in California, and Chicago's libraries in housing developments?
6. Is the public library's commitment to serve disadvantaged teens only a peripheral one dependent on outside funding?
7. Are libraries in disadvantaged areas serving as a substitute for youth recreation centers? If such centers existed, would libraries stay closer to an information function?

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The Role of the Academic Library in Serving the Disadvantaged Student

E. J. JOSEY

AMONG THE MOST immediate and destructive of the problems facing the United States is the problem of the angry and restless poor community, including blacks, Puerto Ricans, poor whites, and Chicanos. These people feel helpless and powerless in the most affluent nation on the face of the globe. The largest group of disadvantaged American citizens that has moved into the large urban centers during the last decade is the black American. Usually he is relegated to the black ghetto where he feels powerless and excluded from the mainstream of American life. The plight of the black American citizen in the ghetto is one of being poverty stricken, undereducated, alienated, underemployed, unemployed, and not a part of the American dream. The poor black American lives in a segregated society in America; the Kerner Commission describes it as "two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."[1]

Because of a multitude of factors, the disadvantaged American is plagued with many barriers which historically have prevented him from seeking higher education. There is no question that the overwhelming bulk of black, Puerto Rican, Appalachian white, and Chicano youths has been given grossly inadequate preparation in the public schools for college admission. Moreover, the overwhelming bulk of disadvantaged youth does not go on to college. The blacks, Puerto Ricans, poor whites and Chicanos who were successful and/or fortunate enough to complete high school had to endure the effects of familial economic factors, lack of proximity to higher educational institutions, lack of a positive impact of a good secondary school guidance program which would have encouraged them to seek higher education and

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financial aid to attend college, the stigma of being in a lower socio-economic class which did not even consider college attendance, familial and community values and influences which did not encourage higher educational aspirations, and vocational goals which included attendance at institutions of higher education.

In spite of the many barriers preventing America's poor or disadvantaged from pursuing higher education, the author concurs with Birenbaum:

> The poor communities, whatever their racial composition, are in desperate need of exactly what the colleges are in business to provide—the liberal and liberating experience of expanded learning; the various kinds of social and cultural experience and expertise that come with higher education; the specific skills and professional knowledge that can enable a young man or woman to overcome the effects of poverty and in turn help his community to combat them. The poor communities must have doctors, teachers, lawyers, skilled businessmen, capable public officials, and social scientists who have emerged from the community and know its problems firsthand. It is this direct link between knowledge and action, between the study of a problem and its practical solution, that both college and community desperately need.[2]

Until recently, in most institutions of higher education in the United States, there has been little or no firm commitment to recruit from the ranks of those who are socially and economically deprived; the educationally low-achieving students have been invisible and unacceptable to college recruiters. Following the riots in Watts, Newark, Detroit, and in many other cities across this land, many institutions of higher education reordered their priorities and began to recruit students from the ranks of the disinherited and poverty stricken. In short, it was not until after a massive domestic upheaval in our country that the nation's colleges and universities accepted, as a part of their educational responsibilities, the unfinished business of providing more educational opportunities for the disadvantaged blacks, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, Appalachian whites, and Chicanos. Many Americans were shocked in 1969 when John Egerton's report *State Universities and Black Americans,*[3] sponsored jointly by the Southern Education Reporting Service and the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, revealed that less than 2 percent of the students in the nation's state universities were Negroes. "The conclusion that black Americans are grossly underrepresented in higher education seems inescapable"[4] and presents an inevitable challenge to American higher education.

One of the boldest and most imaginative programs established in the country to serve the disadvantaged student is the City University of New York's (CUNY) open admissions program. The following description gives a comprehensive sketch of the program:

> Three months after the start of classes, City University of New York's open admissions program has achieved its basic objective, but is seriously hampered by crowding and shortages of space, its officials indicate.
>
> The 16-campus university has lived up to its commitment of a year ago to provide spaces for all of the 1970 June graduates of the city's high schools who wished to attend its classes. It has done so in a bold departure from the past, when entrance was governed by the student's scholastic average and an examination score, and amid criticism that academic standards of the university would be corrupted by open admissions.
>
> The influx of new students, including 9,000 from low academic and vocational high schools who would not have qualified for admission a year ago, has presented crushing problems. But after nearly three months, there is evidence that spirit is high among faculty, staff and students, and strikingly little criticism has appeared.
>
> Many of the 35,500 entering freshmen in a student body of 190,000 are taking their classes in makeshift quarters. Although the university is in the midst of a huge building program, it has had to lease and convert mobile homes, storefronts, a supermarket, a synagogue, and former ice skating rink into classrooms.
>
> Students study in telephone booths and are tutored in coatrooms, officials admit. Faculty members share offices or go without. Lounges have been converted into reading labs, and the Great Hall inside City College has been partitioned into rooms for teaching writing skills to the newcomers.
>
> This sudden metamorphosis has created financial headaches, too. The University's budget has been strained by the entry of 15,500 more students than last year, and some $11 million more is needed to meet expenditures this year, administrators have said. While the state has pledged some financial aid, negotiations were going on with city officials in November to seek funds to meet the balance of the deficit.
>
> Open enrollment isn't that revolutionary—it's been a fixture at some big midwestern and California universities for some time. But City University's brand is unique. It stresses remedial and counseling programs, patterned after its experience of several years with SEEK (Search, Education and Elevation for Knowledge) and College Discovery, and aims directly at keeping the large number of new students from becoming dropouts.
>
> Thus, special programs in reading, writing, and study skills are provided at each campus for those students needing help. University leaders say high school low achievers have proven well motivated to better themselves in similar programs in the past, and many have earned college degrees as a result.
>
> SEEK and College Discovery, which attract promising youngsters to

college, have expanded beyond the 2,700 students they enrolled last year. Classes are kept small and a counselor is available for each 50 students, a far better ratio than for the other students.

Last summer, candidates applying to City University were tested and screened, and most were able to enroll at the campus of their choice this September. Students not prepared for college work were earmarked for makeup work in reading, writing, and study skills, and some are taking one or more courses part-time. Over this semester they will be evaluated closely.

CUNY's network of community colleges (there are now seven) has taken many of these students. New standards of admission allow students with high school averages of 80 or better, or ranking in the top half of their classes, to enter the four-year colleges. Previously, CUNY had required an 85 average for admission to regular programs.

With tuition free, some students who would have gone to private colleges are enrolled in the city system. At the same time, private colleges and universities in the New York area now have more space than city campuses. The possibility of providing spaces for some slower students at these private colleges is being discussed, City University officials confirm, but the colleges must add remedial services and programs, and tuition support has not been worked out.

Deputy Chancellor Seymour Hyman said these proposals were "merely in the talking stage." At the same time, it didn't seem likely that City's space inadequacies would improve in the next two years, he noted.

He and Chancellor Albert H. Bowker are confident the system is educationally sound. Bowker was instrumental in moving open admissions ahead from 1975 to the current year. He insists that college degrees will not become watered down and no college credit will be given for non-college level work.

They have attracted outstanding new faculty and the same percentage of brighter students from the city's high schools as in the past to their program.

Among the unique features on the university's campuses this fall:

—Hunter College has opened a 24-hour student tutoring center, has a "buddy system" pairing upperclassmen with freshmen, and offers one or two-credit "mini-courses."

—City College has a tutoring service, too, employing graduate and undergraduate students.

—Queens College offers multiple courses in English, arts, sciences, and languages, and keeps classes going until 6 p.m.

—Teaching machines and computerized instruction have been added at each campus.

For the less qualified student, the program is "an open door, not a revolving door," university officials contend. It has changed the university from a center for those qualified on the basis of merit and income alone, to one offering higher education to all who think they can benefit.[5]

The open admissions program is working. Although there are glow-

ing accounts of this urban university's serious commitment, unfortunately nothing is indicated regarding the extent to which the libraries of CUNY are actually involved in the education of the disadvantaged. It is true that the Library Association of the City University of New York devoted its conference in April 1969 to the theme, "A New College Student: Challenge to City University Libraries." The question is, Has the conference theme been translated into meaningful action programs that will be helpful and useful to disadvantaged students who are now enrolled under the open admissions programs? At some of the colleges in CUNY programs have been undertaken, but at most of the units of CUNY, as is the case at most colleges and universities in America, little or nothing has been done to fashion a program of library service that would provide special library counseling, instruction, and reading guidance, while initiating programs that would reveal to disadvantaged students the importance of the academic library to success in college. It is imperative that creative and imaginative programs be launched that would motivate students from disadvantaged areas whose life styles have been void of books, reading, and libraries.

What programs should be initiated in college and university libraries to aid disadvantaged students who are now being enrolled in our nation's colleges and universities? The initial efforts, for a number of reasons, should be centered around creating a real learning environment in our college and university libraries. It must first be realized that our relationships and responsibilities to students are more direct than those to the faculty. Hence, it is important that librarians, whose primary duties would be working with the disadvantaged or high risk students, should be assigned to the staffs of all academic libraries which large numbers of disadvantaged students are using. The librarians who are assigned these important responsibilities must of necessity be persons who are able to empathize with the students. If possible, librarians from minority groups should be sought to handle this critical responsibility of helping these students to adjust to academic life as well as making them feel comfortable in a college or university library, which, in too many cases, is foreboding and repelling.

In addition to being endowed with the skills of good reference librarians and the ability to provide reading guidance, librarians who are assigned the task of working with disadvantaged students, who in all probability have not made extensive use of libraries, must be armed not with the typical "missionary" spirit of working *for* the poor and disinherited, but they must be able to transmit to these young people who

are pursuing higher education a feeling and a spirit that they are working *with them* in their quest of a higher education. Young people from disadvantaged backgrounds are suspicious of those missionary zealots who come with an air of "I am going to save you from your wretched state." In short, there is a critical need for librarians who respect young people regardless of their socio-economic class, who are able to transcend cultural and economic barriers and who transmit to these young people the proper values and attitudes necessary for surviving in college as well as living in a highly complex society where continuing education will be necessary in order to avoid obsolescence. Instilling a love for learning through maximum utilization of library resources is best imbued in young disadvantaged students during their first semester in college by librarians who are sensitized to the educational and psychological needs of these young people who may be the first members of their families to pursue a college or university education.

At this point the reader may wish to challenge this thesis of providing suitably qualified and sensitized librarians by raising the question: Where will college and university libraries find librarians who possess the skills to do what this author described above? This is a legitimate question. While there may be an oversupply of librarians on the market in large urban centers, there is not an oversupply of librarians from minority groups. Hence, every library may not be able to procure the services of a librarian from a minority group. To solve this problem, academic library administrators, in making assignments in this area, may have to require that the staff members who will be responsible for working with high risk students take courses in guidance and counseling as well as courses relating to minorities in America. This preparation should provide the skill and expertise to allow librarians to perform adequately as librarian-counselors and faculty-librarians. The educational rationale for this procedure is that if the academic library is to become increasingly involved in the education of disadvantaged students, there must be competent staff who not only understand the complex nature of the problem of the undereducated who are now knocking on the doors of our colleges and universities, but who are committed to a program of action that will make the academic library a real educational tool for those who have been shortchanged by American society.

The second important thrust for preparing the academic library to handle efficiently disadvantaged students is the acquisition of a wide range of materials and resources. While competent library faculty are

essential in our nation's college and university libraries in order that the library can play a central role in the education of disadvantaged students, the academic library must become a total learning environment in which print, sound, and image all merge into sources of information for study and research. Huge quantities of books will always be basic to the learning environment, but it is imperative that the nation's college and university libraries begin to acquire and utilize non-book media which will contribute significantly to the education of disadvantaged students. Those students who have serious reading difficulties will not be penalized in a well stocked library of non-print materials. While these students are improving their reading skills in remedial courses, they will be able to continue their studies by making use of appropriate video tapes, cassettes, records, dial access capability, and other multi-media instruments.

Too many of our nation's college and university libraries are still book oriented. Although many of the disadvantaged students have reading problems, a large number of them have made use of films and other non-book materials. These students who have had some introduction to teaching machines and computerized instruction in high schools now must use staid academic libraries that do not use technological aids except for a few audiovisual materials. If more academic libraries were equipped with the new technology, academic libraries would contribute greatly to the improvement of learning for disadvantaged students. A report by Carl D. Perkins of the Commission on Instructional Technology to the Education and Labor Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives emphasizes increasing the capabilities of institutions of higher education, including libraries, in order to improve learning with the intelligent use of the new technologies.[6]

Non-print materials, while they will not replace the conventional book, will become increasingly important for academic library collections. Some librarians may immediately discern the value of using microform, micro-opaques, and other non-print resources for image storage and retrievals, but they seriously question the stress and emphasis upon the use of these materials at the expense of the revered Codex. The author's response to this kind of question is that the young people who are entering the colleges and universities in the decade of the 1970s have been reared on sight and sound; therefore, those of us in higher education must seize this opportunity to use the capabilities that these young people bring to college, i.e., the ability to learn in a multimedia environment. While these young people are viewing and listen-

ing, it is the responsibility of the college and university libraries to aid them in overcoming their reading deficiencies.

Having generally made little use of public libraries and having attended high schools where libraries were poor, these young people did not develop their reading skills. A few years ago, the author made this statement which is still germane today:

> Good school libraries are very important in the lives of disadvantaged youth, for most of their homes are void of books. Unfortunately, the parents of disadvantaged youth do not and/or cannot read. Consequently, these youth do not look favorably upon reading. In too many instances, newspapers and magazines are not in these children's homes, and the ordinary or commonplace habit of reading by parents is never witnessed by these youth. Never seeing his parents read will not motivate the disadvantaged youth to read.[7]

Therefore, it is quite apparent that by making use of sight and sound, librarians will be creating an equalization of opportunity for disadvantaged youth during the course of their college careers, while at the same time they will be remedying their reading disability.

In the development of library resources that will serve the disadvantaged student, it is essential that librarians grapple with the critical question that the author has alluded to above, the relevance of book and non-book resources.

Another important question facing academic libraries in establishing meaningful programs is: What is the best method and procedure to utilize in encouraging students from non-reading backgrounds to read? During the author's eleven years as the chief librarian of two predominantly black colleges, he used a library lecture series as a technique and invited nationally known authors to the campus, thereby inducing the students to read the books of these world-renown figures. Even if they had not read the works of the authors prior to their coming to the campus, they were usually motivated to read their works after having met and heard these scholars and writers. This may sound simplistic and unsophisticated to those who have worked primarily with college or university students who come from a middle class "prep" school background, but this method of introducing young minds from the ghetto to scholars and opinion-molders will not only have a salutary effect, but will certainly make readers out of non-readers.[8]

Disadvantaged students from the various ethnic groups will be encouraged to read books about their history, literature, leaders and folk heroes if academic libraries purchase books in these subject areas and

then make them freely accessible. The disadvantaged youth of Puerto Rican and Mexican-American background must have books in English and Spanish. Only a very few of the nation's academic libraries have bilingual collections for our citizens who possess fluency in their cultural tongue as will as in English. An important source of self-confidence and racial pride will be found in books and resources which will give ethnic disadvantaged students an appreciation of their own and other ethnic and cultural heritages.

In addition to providing resources that will entice young disadvantaged students to read, it is imperative that the librarians who work with disadvantaged students work hand in hand with the faculty, for the purpose of keeping abreast of curricular changes so that appropriate special reading lists, which may include pre-college reading materials, will be compiled and made available. Reading should not be the province of the remedial reading teacher; librarians working with disadvantaged students must make reading attractive to non-readers and thereby turn non-readers into readers. These youngsters who will go back to their ghetto communities as the future leaders of tomorrow must realize that reading is an irresistible medium of communication. Assisting disadvantaged students to become good readers will insure that open admissions will be "an open door, not a revolving door."

There are very few innovative practices, few departures from traditional librarianship, in use in college libraries as shown in a recent study[9] by Forman. In working with the disadvantaged, college and university librarians must not be tied down to traditional concepts of library service. A personalized service that the academic library could offer is the creation of tutorial services in the library. Seminar rooms and conference rooms could be converted into tutorial centers where honor students and faculty could help students develop proper study techniques and attitudes. The tutorial centers could be under the direction of the librarian-counselor who has the special assignment of working with disadvantaged students. Large numbers of students who need either remedial help or enrichment would benefit by studying in the library where all types of materials will be available to aid them in their quest for educational opportunity.

While most academic libraries rarely provide selective dissemination of information (SDI) for their honor students, nevertheless, this is a technique in which bold, imaginative experimentation could be instituted. The effectuation of such a program might begin by creating a

profile, including vocational goals and even remediation needs, on the interests of a small group of students. One would not have to utilize computer application for this service. Here again honor students and service-oriented fraternities and sororities, under the guidance of librarians, could be pressed into service; volunteers from these student groups could scan the indicies for serial literature, the new bookshelves, and new non-print acquisitions and match the resources with the needs of the disadvantaged students.

There have been many wide ranging proposals for reforming higher education. Many of these reforms will aid disadvantaged students. A study group of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Assembly on University Goals and Governance, recently recommended that:

> institutions create joint, racially integrated pre-college and pre-professional programs to prepare low-income youth for the college education that is aften denied them now. . . . Institutions should also try giving students credit for important work experience or independent study off the campus in the school year. . . . The role of colleges and universities as "gatekeeper"—granting "passports to employ"—is "onerous". . . . "Every innovation that reduces the pressure on colleges and universities to accommodate all, including those who are not interested or able—and that reinforces an element of choice on the part of the individual—is desirable."[10]

The assembly also recommended "intermingling study and work" which will be useful to students with low incomes.

The suggestions for reform by the assembly of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, as well as the external degree proposed by Ewald B. Nyquist, president of the University of the State of New York and Commissioner of Education, in his inaugural address[11] on September 15, 1970, are indicators that disadvantaged Americans will have easier access to the coveted degree in an informal educational setting. Will the academic libraries cope with these new programs? Americans who participate in informal higher educational programs will certainly make use of public libraries, but the National Advisory Commission on Libraries described the sorry state of affairs relative to the strength of public library collections by stating that "more than two thirds of all public libraries fail to meet American Library Association (ALA) standards as to the minimum adequate size of collections."[12] In view of the foregoing, it will be necessary that students engaged in informal higher education programs be provided with resources largely housed in academic libraries. If the students are studying on their own without the benefit of a professor, or have limited or no contact with an educational

institution, they will need academic libraries. Hence, academic libraries should begin serving young adults who may or may not have affiliation with their parent institutions.

The new programs and especially the external degree program will provide a ready solution for those citizens in the low income bracket who are not able to give up their employment and return to college on a full-time basis to acquire a college education. The external degree offers immense possibilities for bringing flexibility, as well as greater democratic quality, into higher education, for it will be impartially available to all citizens regardless of age, race, sex or economic status, thus giving hope to thousands of disadvantaged American citizens. Will our academic libraries seize the opportunity to provide counseling, instruction and resources to the thousands of people who will take this route to a coveted college degree?

Finally, it is inevitable that academic librarians will reach the conclusion that the academic library has a positive role in serving the disadvantaged student. The author has indicated that to serve the disadvantaged students a new type of staff member is necessary in academic libraries, i.e., one who empathizes and works with the students. Another important requisite is the assemblage of a wide range of resources to include non-print materials which will equalize the learning opportunities. Of equal importance will be the establishment of programs to encourage a love for reading. Furthermore, there is a need to engage in innovative practices to aid disadvantaged students. It should also be emphasized that academic libraries must open their doors to adults who are studying in the newly emerging and less formal educational programs, such as the external degree program.

If the academic library is to have a modicum of success in reaching disadvantaged students, it must become a teaching agency offering aid to the disadvantaged with action-oriented programs such as those outlined above. Academic librarians must become more than user oriented. In short they must become client centered by making students who have never used libraries feel at home in the library. This client-centered policy does not have to be confined to the walls of the library. The academic library must become a library without walls with librarian-counselors visiting the student union and other places where students gather on campus in order to make students aware of the informational and instructional services that await them in the library. The academic library must reach disadvantaged students *through* ac-

tion-oriented library programs and not merely by teaching *about* the library.

The academic library can provide disadvantaged students with many new kinds of learning experiences by providing high quality staff, a wide range of resources and facilities, and meaningful programs that will involve students in the critical analysis of the social values and interactions that underlie the foundations of education. This can be accomplished by an academic library for disadvantaged students, but if it is to be successful, a high priority must be placed on inquiry and problem-solving which utilize library resources; the focus would be on giving these young people confidence in themselves which in turn will help them learn and will inculcate in them that they have a magnificent contribution to make to society. Such positive programs by academic libraries can engender a social commitment that will have a lasting effect on those who will begin their college careers as the disadvantaged but who will leave the halls of academe with an enduring commitment to help establish a more democratic society for America and all of her citizens.

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Education in Librarianship for Serving the Disadvantaged

MARGARET E. MONROE

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, that autonomous agency designed to serve "all" the public directly and to account for its productivity to that same public, has been responsive over the years to the needs of some of its larger publics. Those branches of the public library service designed around specific publics (children, young people, teachers, businessmen, city government and so forth) have developed a style of service that permits relatively rapid responsiveness to change in the publics. Yet the public library as an institution has administratively been organized to serve the monolithic "all," and administrative structure, policies, and assumptions have been based on the concept of centralized policy making and uniformity of procedure and service.

The inconsistencies between these two basic assumptions have been resolved in the case of service to children through a high degree of autonomy within children's services for policies in collections, personnel and services. Young adult service, not often granted such autonomy, has suffered in a no-man's-land between children and adult services. For the period 1924 to the mid-1960s the adult education movement within the public library attempted to achieve the needed flexibility in collections, personnel and services provided to groups of adults with various special needs. But public library administration has just come, in the 1970s, under the impact of recognition of its unreadiness to serve the disadvantaged, to review its assumptions and to identify the need for decentralization of policies on collections, personnel and services so that service may be relevant to the various segments of its public. The problems posed by initiation of such decentralization are far from solution, and some public library directors, appalled by their complexity and seeming insolubility, are ready to reject decentralization or arbi-

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trarily to limit the focus of the public library to a single, more homogeneous segment of the public.

The public library, then, has not failed to recognize the challenge presented by the enormous numbers of non-reading, ill-educated disadvantaged in those central cities where formerly respectable proportions of the population provided a well-educated reading public. As Guy Garrison has noted in his astute summary of the dilemma of the municipal public library, this challenge comes at the very moment that the demand for reference and information service in the metropolitan context has sharply increased and offers a competing focus for attention.[1]

Library education is charged with the responsibility for preparing librarians to work in the variety of contexts which the differing public library solutions to this problem provide. Nothing is homogeneous, defined or clear about public library philosophy or practice in serving the disadvantaged, but the increasing tempo of innovation in many of the major metropolitan public libraries in the last six or seven years has set the pace for changes required in library education. Clearly the role of the practitioner in innovation and the role of library education in evaluating and institutionalizing innovation through research and education of personnel is exemplified in the field of service to the disadvantaged.[2]

Garrison has discussed the challenges to library education with insight,[3] but detailed, precise reporting on what response library education has made to the vital problem of serving the disadvantaged has not been available. For the purposes of this report, a survey among accredited library schools was undertaken and completed in 1971.

Report on the 1971 Survey of Library Education's Response to Service to the Disadvantaged

An inquiry directed to deans, directors and selected instructors in accredited library schools in the United States and Canada in February 1971 requested information and opinions from all instructors of courses in each school that incorporated attention to service to the disadvantaged. Fifty-five instructors from thirty-five library schools responded to the detailed questionnaire, providing information on some courses in two-thirds of the accredited programs. Analysis of the group responding suggests that the kind and range of response may be typical of library school programs as a whole, since the non-responding group included about the same proportion of schools known to give particular attention to this area of instruction as did the responding group.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO 1971 SURVEY

Number of Instructors Responding Per School	Number of Schools	Number of Instructors Responding—Total
1	21	21
2	9	18
3	4	12
4	1	4
Total	35	55

CURRICULUM

Nine courses designed specifically to prepare librarians for service to the disadvantaged were reported by seven schools, and included:

Afro-American bibliography (UCLA)
Inner-city library service (Kent)
Institutional and hospital library service (Columbia)
Library aids to the disadvantaged (Kansas State Teachers)
Library service to the disadvantaged (UCLA)
Library service to the disadvantaged child (Western Michigan)
Minorities: library and information services (Syracuse)
Urban libraries (Columbia)
Working with the disadvantaged (Kentucky)

Several of these had been newly initiated in 1970-71 or in the summer of 1971, and two other schools reported plans to initiate special courses in some aspect of this area.

An important group of twenty-four basic courses of the type often considered core or required of all students was reported as giving particular attention to service to the disadvantaged. These included:

Foundations of librarianship	14
Building library collections	5
Reader services (including reference)	4
Library administration	1

The cluster of traditional elective courses most frequently reported as incorporating attention to the disadvantaged was that of service to children and youth in public and school libraries. Fifty-two courses were identified in this group.

Children's literature	17
Adolescent literature	11

Work with children and youth	11
School libraries and media centers	9
Curriculum materials	3
Materials for teachers	1

The next most frequent grouping of traditional courses reporting attention to service to the disadvantaged is that of adult services and its various alternates (reading interests of adults, adult education and the library, library service to individuals/to groups, the library in the community). Eleven such courses in nine schools were identified by the survey as giving this attention. One such course was in the process of being converted into one designated primarily as "service to the disadvantaged," and there is other evidence to suggest that a majority of the courses specifically designated for service to the disadvantaged had evolved from the area of adult services. Ten instructors of courses on public libraries or public library systems reported particular attention to administrative and policy aspects of service to the disadvantaged.

An interesting scattering of other elective courses was reported as incorporating consideration of this area:

Audiovisual services	3
Bibliography of the social sciences	1
Communications	1
Health science libraries	1
Library architecture	1
Literature of the humanities	1

The total of 114 courses reported by fifty-five instructors as giving full, important, or at least some measurable attention to service to the disadvantaged provides a rough estimate of library education's response to this social need. Since undoubtedly many non-responding instructors in the reporting schools give attention to this area of concern as well, these figures must be considered as indicative, not as definitive. The reporting instructors, however, were those who were identified by the investigator, by the school's administrative head, or by one of their colleagues as actively concerned with preparing librarians to serve the disadvantaged, and who found this analysis of sufficient importance to respond to a group of detailed questions. The responses to the survey questions on curriculum and methodology, then, come from this group of concerned instructors.

DISADVANTAGED GROUPS EMPHASIZED

The degree of emphasis placed on particular groups of the disadvan-

taged population in the library science courses reported upon was quite varied. Of the checklist of eight named groups, seven were named by one instructor or another as receiving highest emphasis, only criminal offenders lacking such a top ranking, while four of the eight were also ranked by one or more instructors at the lowest rank. The three top ranking groups receiving greatest emphasis in course instruction each received between twenty and twenty-three placements in the top rank, some of the instructors ranking more than one group in the top level.

TABLE 2

DISADVANTAGED GROUPS RANKED BY EMPHASIS IN INSTRUCTION

	Emphasized		Ignored	
Group	Total score (weighted 1–8)	Rank	No. instructors not reporting attn. to group	Rank
Educationally disadvantaged	320	1	12	7
Culturally different (black)	310	2	18	5
Economically disadvantaged	286	3	9	8
Culturally different (Spanish-speaking)	183	4.5	24	4
Physically handicapped	183	4.5	17	6
Emotionally disturbed or retarded	121	6	31	3
Hospitalized	106	7	33	2
Criminal offenders	62	8	40	1

Twenty-seven write-in identifications of other groups receiving emphasis in library science courses included seven named as of top rank: aged, blind, American Indian, Eskimo, poor Southern whites in North, immigrants to Canada, and those with reading disabilities. Three groups received consistent enough write-ins to warrant computation of weighted scores and rankings.

Scattered mention of other groups included, in addition to those mentioned as given a top ranking, Hawaiian, rural disadvantaged, students, alienated youth, and Asian Americans.

While four instructors reported "equal emphasis given to all" and did not rank by emphasis in their courses, fifty instructors found the choices reasonable to make, even if using the categories only to check

TABLE 3

DISADVANTAGED GROUPS (WRITE-INS) RANKED BY EMPHASIS IN INSTRUCTION

Group	Total Score (weighted 1–8)	Rank
Aged	38	1
American Indian	37	2
Immigrants to Canada	18	3

those to which they did give attention. Forty-one instructors gave numerical ratings to some or all groups on the list.

PERSPECTIVE ON SERVICE TO THE DISADVANTAGED

Instructors were asked to identify the approach or perspective from which they prepare librarians to serve the disadvantaged. Given three statements from which they could choose or the possibility of phrasing their own, ten instructors responded by writing out their own approach, finding the categories not suitable to their course emphasis or their style of thought. Twenty-two instructors used the alternative approaches offered them, checking without further comment. Another twenty-three instructors used the categories for checking but added comment to amplify or interpret the meaning.

TABLE 4

INSTRUCTOR PERSPECTIVES ON SERVICE TO THE DISADVANTAGED

Approaches	Number of Instructors
1. Emphasis on special skills needed for the special publics	33
2. Treat service to the disadvantaged as not dissimilar to other service programs	26
3. Phase of passing significance in my area of specialty	5
4. Other	32

None of those checking item 3 checked any other category as well, while items 1 and 2 were frequently checked simultaneously. No instructor failed to check or comment on "approach."

Overwhelmingly the approach to instruction on service to the disadvantaged emphasized the preparation of students to understand special groups. Films, books, and speakers who represented the special groups

were used to sensitize, to interpret so that the student upon becoming a librarian would have the basis for a "creative response" to service to the special groups. Special skills seemed to be emphasized only where specific courses in service to the disadvantaged were presented, or where the range of courses in the services field was broad, as in Pittsburgh's three-course adult services sequence, and allowed depth probe into separate aspects of service skills. The concept of "special publics" has taken root in the instruction in public and school libraries at this time, and for many instructors the concept is the matter of greater importance than the specific selection of groups for emphasis; many instructors reported allowing the students' choice of emphasis to determine which groups were studied in detail. For several instructors, including Lowell A. Martin, this area was discussed in terms of the library's responsiveness to needs of special groups.

On the other hand, some instructors clearly rejected the "special publics" approach, and interpreted their orientation as service to individuals. The disadvantaged were viewed as having a personal handicap, as being an ineffective reader or a non-reader or a reluctant reader, with the "non-user to be thought of as an individual and not as a member of a group." Keen concern for these potential users was evident, but they were to be conceived of as unique persons, not as sharing certain dilemmas in common with others in a style that would respond to special library approaches. There were perhaps five or six instructors who consistently interpreted their approach to the disadvantaged in these terms.

A handful of instructors reported a "service techniques" approach to instruction on the disadvantaged, emphasizing the special adaptations of service techniques found to exist and thought to be successful. These few instructors were far outweighed by those stressing understanding of the groups and the librarian's attitudes toward them. A few instructors emphasized the usefulness of analyzing both successful and unsuccessful service techniques as a way of coming to grips with the dynamics of service to particular groups.

Finally, a group of eight or ten instructors interpreted their approach to preparing librarians for service to the disadvantaged in terms of understanding the dynamics of society or of the community as a whole. Courses in public library administration, in planning services to readers, and in adult services, as well as courses designed specifically around service to the disadvantaged, were those most usually couched in these terms. Typically the content of these courses reflected concepts

drawn from other disciplines: Maslow's hierarchy of human needs from the field of educational psychology, management principles and planning approaches drawn from the field of business administration, communications concepts, sociological concepts of social change couched in social work theory, and so forth. A constant factor in such interpretations was the stress on the library's joint planning with other community agencies and on the preparation of students to understand the range of community agencies as a basis for cooperative planning and programs.

While these four approaches have been identified out of the fifty-five responses, it is important to point out that many instructors reflected two or more. Special publics and social dynamics approaches went hand-in-hand for some instructors while others, acknowledging the reality of the "special public," regularly approached it as reflecting a need for individualized service approaches within an undifferentiated service program "for all." Lowell A. Martin's challenge to public librarians to develop public libraries as a congery of special library services[4] not only awaits development in the field, but has still to make more converts on library school faculties.

METHODOLOGY

Responses to a checklist of methodologies and classroom techniques showed individual student papers or projects to be most frequently used to develop the learning experience; class projects were a close second.

In discussing the methodologies used in preparing librarians to serve the disadvantaged, instructors stressed the importance of discussion, whether in small "teaching-learning" groups or in the class as a whole,

TABLE 5

METHODOLOGY FOR PREPARING LIBRARIANS TO SERVE THE DISADVANTAGED

Methodology or Technique	Frequency
Individual projects or papers	51
Class projects on special group in a general course	40
Field observation	30
Institute	12
Internship	9
Special course on special public	8

as leading to new insight, while others stressed the shock of first-hand experience with members of the disadvantaged populations themselves —in the community, in the classroom, on film, in books—as the route to insight. These techniques were closely related to the importance attached to understanding the special groups and preparing librarians to respond creatively to their needs. Both techniques—discussion and first-hand experience—were used by many instructors for the purpose of producing sensitivity, awareness, and insight.

Field observation, individual papers, and bibliographic study tended to be the approaches taken by instructors who focused on orienting the students to knowledge about the special publics and the services that libraries were offering them. On the other hand, those seeking to prepare students for individualized approaches to non-readers and non-users tended to set book choice problems related to hypothetical individuals with interesting sets of personal and social characteristics, or to have students prepare reading lists, reading collections or lists of non-print materials for such hypothetical users.

For those concerned with the students' comprehension of the dynamics of society and the community as the context within which the disadvantaged are to be served, case studies, simulation and games, and field projects were the usual techniques in establishing learning situations. The requirement of field work in relation to the courses specifically designed to prepare librarians for service to the disadvantaged was common, but was also an aspect of a number of courses both for adult service and for service to children and youth.

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

There was a variety of issues on which there was no unanimity among instructors preparing librarians to serve the disadvantaged. The choice of personnel, however, was no issue. While there was no mention of the need to recruit members of minority groups into professional education, there was the important emphasis on sensitizing the self-selected to the needs, interests, and problems of a range of minority groups. Similarly, although no attention was given to selecting people of personal maturity, breadth of human experience, or first-hand experience of poverty or ghetto living, there was attention given by a few instructors to educational experiences that would produce the attitudes, values, and personal flexibility that might be expected as the outcome of such first-hand experience.

While instructors reflected the habit of somewhat uncritically ac-

cepting whatever students came their way, they did address themselves directly to issues on curriculum and methodology, areas over which they exercise some control. The chief issue in curriculum was that of whether preparation for serving the disadvantaged should be integrated into the established courses, required or elective, or should be separately developed in courses dealing solely with the disadvantaged. Three major arguments were advanced for the integration into established courses: all students need contact with the problem and its various solutions, specialized courses may tend to develop too rigid a style of thinking about a group which contains great variation in readiness to use all types of library services, and service to the disadvantaged must be kept in a perspective of service to all other library publics.

The case for specialized courses on service to the disadvantaged, however, lay in the recognition of the need for greater depth than allowed by a course responsible for a broader content. Usually those who argued for the specialized course or course sequence carried a conviction of the need for specialization in library education, some advocating it at the masters level, others convinced that the specialist or second professional year of study was the most appropriate.

The great range of approaches to the substantive content of instruction in service to the disadvantaged is suggested by the continuum that spans: (1) book materials for the disadvantaged; (2) understanding the dynamics of life in specific groups of the disadvantaged; (3) interdisciplinary education, with social work, sociology, public administration, learning theory, communications theory, and others making their contribution in the content of library science courses or through courses carried by the student in other academic departments; and (4) research-oriented theory combined with field practice in library social action programs. These were hardly presented in the climate of debate, but represent a variety of quite distinct (although not mutually exclusive) approaches to content. There is no question that the instructors most deeply involved in preparing librarians in this field drew regularly upon the research findings, concepts, and even theoretical structures of the related fields of sociology, education, communications, and business administration. Such professors as Penland at Pittsburgh, Allen at Kentucky and Marshall at Toronto demonstrated in their course work a variety of styles in integrating these fields into librarianship. Marshall stressed that as librarians or library educators "we must develop our own theory and practice, but cooperatively and with great

sensitivity and sophistication," lest we misapply the borrowings of theory and practice from the related fields.

Perhaps one of the most striking innovations in methodology rising from attention to service for the disadvantaged is the reinstitution in library education of the field experience. The forms range from field observations to field projects to a more extensive practicum to a full internship. The field experience, whatever its form, is based on two educational concerns: understanding or "getting the feel of" the dynamics of the human situation, and highly focused experience with concrete realities as a basis for understanding, testing or constructing theory. This is a considerably more sophisticated approach to field experience than the work experience that early apprenticeships tended to provide, where induction into a library's way of doing things was the objective and stress was on practical skills. Professional education generally is reinventing the practicum at this new level as a method of more rapidly sophisticating the practitioner. The library field experience is now more closely tied to classroom work, providing the basis for discussion and understanding, and awakening both instructor and student to aspects of library practice as they evolve in daily work.

Three trenchant comments from skilled library educators on the responses to this inquiry identified aspects of preparing librarians to serve the disadvantaged which support the importance of various forms of field experience.

In responding to the questionnaire, Lowell A. Martin of Columbia commented: "This is a stimulating and sometimes shocking area of instruction for many students. Some are turned off when they grasp the complexity and reality of the situation. Others are challenged and a number have sought jobs in disadvantaged areas." With close to unanimous emphasis in responses to this survey on the need to "make the student aware" of needs and life styles of the many groups of publics they serve, true apprehension of the problems with which the disadvantaged publics grapple, or fail to grapple, is seen by many, including Martin, to be achieved only through inclusion of some components of field experience. If the "we/they" connotations warned against by McClaskey of Minnesota are to be avoided in this area of service, field experience must be long enough to enable the student to pass through cultural shock and to develop a useful professional style and a group of professional strategies and skills.

Genevieve Casey of Wayne State identified mutual exploration as

the style of learning which instructors in service to the disadvantaged inevitably develop as she wrote: "Since totally workable patterns of service have yet to be found, one gropes with students." And it may be important to add that those field experiences in which library practitioners are willing to join the instructors and the students in the mutual search are the most rewarding. It is only thus that faculty insight can most fruitfully develop.

John M. Marshall of Toronto pointed to the need for research into the information needs of the disadvantaged and into the responses of the disadvantaged to libraries, librarians and library services. He makes a brief case for abandoning "reliance upon the dubious results of so-called objective, value-free social science research," and engaging instead in action research that will deeply involve instructor-researchers in field experience. It follows that field projects, field research, and internships have a common locus and often a common focus. With the obligation not only to teach but also to expand the area of professional knowledge, instructors are becoming committed to the field experience anew in the area of service to the disadvantaged.

CURRENT PHILOSOPHY AND EXPERIMENTATION IN EDUCATION FOR SERVICES TO THE DISADVANTAGED

In 1967 Lester Asheim reviewed education for library adult services in the perspective of changes both in the needs of adults for these services and in library education as a field.[5] He proposed three major considerations for the field of adult services education: (1) preparing librarians for ready adaptation to changes in adult needs by stressing principles and theory rather than specific skills and techniques; (2) providing a true specialization in adult services (as is now developing in various other aspects of librarianship) and relinquishing the concept of preparing librarians for any type of library function in any type of library; and (3) beginning the counseling, career-choice and orientation to the profession prior to the masters degree program. He made pointed though brief comment on preparation for service to the disadvantaged:

> To this group must be added an increasingly enlarged number of other groups who have also always been represented in the total library audience but never in such numbers and with such special services. The thrust of today's social programs, focusing attention upon the culturally deprived and the physically handicapped, for example, creates new

challenges to the traditional services—and again, a new area of expertise. The skills of the social worker are going to be needed by today's library graduates if they are to function in this area of adult services—and a knowledge of materials quite different from the classics and the scholarly works that would be the essential background for the college and university librarian.[6]

With more detailed attention to curriculum and methodology, Lawrence A. Allen of the University of Kentucky proposed the specific elements of the library education curriculum needed to prepare "community librarians."[7] Behavioral sciences, management and administrative theory, and library specialization are three areas analyzed for the components needed by community librarians. Communications theory, adult education methods, adult psychology, and interpersonal relationships (with sensitivity training as a laboratory method) compose the elements of behavioral sciences for this curriculum. Concepts and process of cultural change, community analysis, organizational sociology and psychology, and management theory and functions are the elements of administrative and management theory which Allen selects for emphasis. Library specialization consists of updating library and information science broadly, studying the library problem peculiar to the type of community in which the student specializes, and in internship. It is clear that the library components are not rich in "librarianship," but that the borrowing from related fields are rich indeed. Allen discussed this curriculum as one for post-masters degree education primarily, either as a second year of professional study or in informal institutes or conference contexts.

Garrison, two years of national stress later, daringly proposed comparable elements for the preparation of public librarians in the basic masters program. Like Asheim and Allen, Garrison asked a restructuring and tightening of the "core" of basic library science, and emphasized such areas of learning as: techniques of community organization, urban planning, economics of public service, intergovernmental relations, communication theory, and group dynamics.[8] Further, he envisioned a role for library employees working in the community that might be questioned as requiring much traditional library education:

In the future technical expertise may have to take the back seat. One will look for versatility, determination, relationships with people, and imagination as more important than library skills. The curriculum for preparing public librarians may grow more and more to resemble a social

> service curriculum. In fact, some may wonder if the people might not better be partially trained directly in social service administration.[8]

Ending with an emphasis on internships as essential to such education, Garrison concludes that "we ought to produce fewer but more intensively trained public library professionals."[8]

The stress placed by Allen and Garrison on community planning and intergovernmental relations was viewed in another context by Monroe in 1970:

> Unlike librarians of other types of libraries, the public librarian works within an autonomous library—the library for the total community. He has, therefore, a unique responsibility for direction-finding and goal-setting with a freer play to his own insight and enterprise than may be possible in any other type of library. He must have the skills of interpreting his program, since public libraries are fully accountable to the public (the trustees, the governmental units from which they derive their support, and public opinion in general). The skills of consultation and planning, therefore, are of major importance to every public librarian.[9]

It has been the intensive, mandatory involvement of public librarians at all levels of service to the disadvantaged that has brought home the importance of this area of professional skills.

The single sustained experiment in preparing public librarians to serve the disadvantaged upon which detailed reports are available is that conducted by the University of Maryland at the High John Branch of the Prince George's County Library.[10] The branch, begun as an autonomous library organized and administered by the School of Library and Information Services of the university, was designed to serve as a laboratory for a professional education program that also included a seminar on library service to the disadvantaged. Initially the seminar was an appendage to the practicum at High John, but experience reversed the roles as the behavioral science content of the seminar was enriched and the High John field experience became exemplary for theory as well as the medium for cross cultural understanding. The final adjustment in the program came as the administration of the library itself was turned over to the Prince George's County Library, with the function of school laboratory maintained and the school's role that of innovator, experimenter, and researcher.

The High John experiment continues into 1971, and several basic problems are spotlighted for analysis. The essential experience for student librarians of understanding the cultures of ethnic groups at the poverty level involves culture shock for many students, requiring im-

portant readjustment in values and concepts; the most effective mode for such acculturation of public librarians will be sought. Secondly, the research orientation will be continuously focused on the role of the public library in service to the disadvantaged so that alternative positions may be more clearly enunciated. Finally, establishing appropriate models of preparing librarians for service to the disadvantaged will be based on the project's clarification of what such effective service is.[11] It is important to note that the school has intensively involved in its educational program successful library practitioners, effective library research specialists, and an educational sociologist with experience in civil rights and poverty program development. Assessment of the kinds of faculty needed will be as important as the components and modes of learning.

Theoretical models are indeed sought by a number of library educators preparing librarians for service to the disadvantaged, and at least two exist couched in the perspective of public librarianship generally[12] or even more broadly in librarianship as a field.[13] That such theoretical models applicable to librarianship as a whole are available may challenge Garrison's implication that library service to the disadvantaged has larger components of social service than librarianship, or at least modify this to become librarianship in the context of social service.

Inner-City Task Survey, 1969

During the period December 1968 to March 1969, this writer conducted 147 interviews with the staffs of thirteen metropolitan public libraries working in the inner-city and ascertained a rough measure of relative amounts of time expended by each staff member in various types of services. The categories of work were grouped by professional orientation for analysis.

KINDS OF ACTIVITY IN SERVICE TO DISADVANTAGED—1969 SURVEY

A. Library Tasks

1. Selecting material for the library's collection
2. Helping people choose materials
3. Book or film programs
4. Talking to community groups visiting the library
5. Talking to groups outside the library
6. Training library staff assistants

7. Talking about your work to other librarians
8. Studying the community you serve

B. Library-Social Work
1. Activity programs in the library
2. Home visits in the community
3. Attending community meetings
4. Contact with community agency staff
5. Walking around the community talking to people about the library

C. Social Work
1. Talking to individual readers about their problems

D. Education
1. Tutorial help (reading, etc.)

Only clerical, technical, disciplinary and purely administrative tasks were omitted from this list. Time categories were presented without

TABLE 6

PATTERNS OF EMPHASIS IN TIME SPENT ON ACTIVITIES RELATED TO PROFESSIONAL SKILLS NEEDED (PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL STAFF TIME BY LIBRARY SYSTEM)

Library System	Library Tasks	Library-Social Work	Social Work	Education
A	64.0%	22.0%	11.0%	2.0%
B	63.7	19.9	10.3	6.2
C	77.7	14.5	6.6	1.2
D	65.4	24.5	8.5	1.5
E	66.1	22.8	8.5	2.7
F	73.4	18.9	6.5	1.2
G	76.6	13.6	6.1	3.7
H	75.5	16.3	7.5	.7
I	57.4	33.1	7.8	1.7
J	61.5	23.8	7.4	7.4
K	76.0	16.5	6.5	.9
L	73.3	17.3	6.3	3.0
M	58.3	41.7	.96	0.0
Range	57.4–77.7%	13.6–41.7%	.96–11.0%	0.0–7.4%
Median	66.1%	19.9%	7.4%	1.7%

the professional designation. The interviewee could choose to estimate his time in hours or percentages on a weekly basis. Discussion and adjustment of the figures with the interviewer helped to establish their validity.

Analysis of time spent, library by library, demonstrates unique patterns within each library, but there is a consistent emphasis upon the strictly library tasks. Within the library-social work tasks, contact with agency staff ranked first (5.9 percent median); activity programs, second (4.8 percent median); attending community meetings, third (4.2 percent median); walking around community, fourth (2.9 percent median); and home visits, fifth (1.5 percent median).

Of the strictly library tasks, four (A:1,6,7,8) were preparatory to direct service and four (A:2,3,4,5) were direct service. Staff with professional education in librarianship spent considerably more time in preparatory service than in direct services, and were distinctly different

TABLE 7

RELATIVE AMOUNTS OF TIME SPENT ON DIRECT SERVICE (LIBRARY TASKS) AND PREPARATORY LIBRARY ACTIVITIES (LIBRARY TASKS) BY AREA OF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION OF STAFF MEMBERS

Proportion of Time in Direct Service (Compared with Preparatory Service)	Percentage of Staff from Librarianship	Percentage of Staff from Social Work	Percentage of Staff from Education	Total
Neither service given	1.85	7.69	10.53	3.57
0–20% direct service (80–100% preparatory)	51.85	30.77	31.58	47.15
20–40% direct service (60–80% preparatory)	11.11	15.38	10.53	11.43
40–60% direct service (40–60% preparatory)	20.37	46.15	42.10	25.72
60–80% direct service (20–40% preparatory)	13.89	—	5.26	11.42
80–100% direct service (0–20% preparatory)	.93	—	—	.71
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

from those staff with professional education in social work or education.

While no one of the library systems would be prepared to defend the proportion of time spent, and present practice is no more than a guideline, nevertheless the present adaptation of public library service to the disadvantaged stresses the traditional library tasks, although typically presented in an untraditional manner, and the professional library staff spend large proportions of time in professional preparatory work.

As further detailed analysis of this survey is available, its values may lie in suggesting an approach to deriving curriculum from practice. This is one of the knottiest problems of library education, and the concern for preparing librarians to serve the disadvantaged has provided an important opportunity to make such exploration.

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Trends in Federal Library Training Programs for Service to the Disadvantaged

MICHELLE R. VALE

IN APPROACHING THIS TOPIC, the question that stops one before he begins is whether the "library profession," that ubiquitous abstract, is really capable of providing a meaningful response to the disadvantaged. The National Advisory Commission on Libraries (NACOL) concluded in 1968 that the library is a "creative center" and "should not be defined by the adequacy of its space, equipment, and collections alone, but by the adequacy of its people—those who first teach the mind to inquire, and those in the libraries who can show it *how* to inquire."[1] The commission's final report emphasized that "the librarian of today and tomorrow must have many technical and professional skills, but above all he must have skill with people,"[1] a trait which has heightened the significance of library service to the disadvantaged.

In its manpower objective, NACOL, in essence, issued a challenge to the library profession, library educators and library funding sources, including the U. S. Office of Education, to "provide adequate trained personnel for the varied and changing demands of librarianship."[2] Library school educators continue to attest to the slowness of the library profession itself in responding to changing societal needs and in using an interdisciplinary approach,[3] which is the same cry noted in the commission's report of three years ago.[4]

The broad directions in which the NACOL report indicated the profession should move to solve manpower dilemmas are relevant to library services to the disadvantaged. It recommended that the library profession proceed with curriculum development; that library administrators make the working environment more challenging; and that the federal government act as a clearinghouse on library training, advise

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on recruitment, provide direct aid to schools that train librarians, publish related training materials, train potential library educators, and provide for library fellowships. The role of the proposed National Commission on Libraries and Information Science was outlined as one of experimenter in the approaches to library training and in the development of career ladders to make librarianship a more appealing profession.[5]

The Federal Response

How the federal government can by law and disposition best meet the library training needs of our mobile and increasingly urban population requires an understanding of an evolutionary process. It would seem that two elements necessary for any substantive commitment by the U. S. Office of Education (USOE) or any other federal agency are funds and philosophy. Funding is a function of public and institutional outcry and support translated into administration budget requests and later into congressional appropriations. Funding is largely beyond the control of those people administering particular programs within a governmental agency. Although an agency does make an input to testimony presented before congressional committees, that input is reflective of a given president's administration as presented by its spokesman, which in the case of USOE is the commissioner of education. The intent and philosophy of legislation is mandated by Congress and further delineated in congressional hearings and reports.

The ability of federal programs to respond to changing national priorities is most easily accomplished with so-called "discretionary programs." Federal discretionary programs are those funded on a competitive basis through application of eligible institutions or agencies. This is in contrast to state grant programs where states are allotted federal money on a formula basis and the state, rather than the federal government, has the discretionary authority for the use of funds within the limitations of a given law.

Uses of federal funds for library training should be viewed then in the context of several constraints or opportunities, depending on one's point of view, such as level of funding, type of funding—i.e., discretionary or formula grant, the law itself, and expressed national priorities.

Prior to the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965, the only federal library training funds available were back in the Works Projects Administration (WPA) period and more recently for school library personnel under the National Defense Education Act (NDEA)

Title XI institute program. However, since the enactment of the Library Services Act in 1956, many states have found it desirable and necessary to use some of their allotted federal funds for public library services to train public library staff. Many state library agencies provided graduate library scholarships with federal funds under the Library Services and Construction Act and also instituted workshops and conferences to upgrade technical skills of working librarians to include among other goals better service to the disadvantaged.

Library Legislation and the Disadvantaged

The theme of improving service to the disadvantaged, both by educating those who work with the disadvantaged and by providing opportunities for the employment of the disadvantaged themselves in libraries, has been a priority of the Office of Education's total library program philosophy in general since the mid-1960s, and it is very likely to be a continuing priority trend through the 1970s.

With the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (HEA), a new opportunity was afforded the library profession. The library training portion of Title II B of that act provided for graduate fellowships and institutes. This discretionary grant program made institutions of higher education, both ALA-accredited and non-ALA-accredited, the applicants and recipients of funds for all library education programs. Although the act did not specify training for service to or training of the disadvantaged, USOE considered the disadvantaged a national priority pervading all programs.

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

From its beginning in 1966, the library fellowship program under the library training portion of Title II B of HEA encouraged library schools to seek minority students. Some institutions made concerted efforts to do so. A sampling of graduate library schools indicates that the number of minority group students has increased since the initiation of the federal program. However, even the high percentage increase in the number of minority students is not any great absolute number. This may mean five or six black students a year rather than one or two, or one or two rather than none. While encouraging institutions to seek minority candidates, the Office of Education, like all federal agencies, has not and cannot by law require such reports, nor can participating schools request race or ethnic origin on their applications. The large

number of blacks recently recruited to colleges have yet to graduate and apply to library schools.

The fellowship program provided for stipends and for institutional support. In an overall analysis through fiscal 1971 some 2,500 fellowships were awarded: approximately 40 were for undergraduates, 1,460 were for masters degrees, 180 for post-masters and 820 for doctorates. Of the total, all the undergraduates, less than 10 percent of post-masters, and about 60 percent of the doctoral fellowships were continuing awards. In fiscal year 1971, fellowships were awarded only to continuing candidates. From fiscal 1966 through fiscal 1971, approximately $19 million in federal funds has been used to strengthen library education and the profession through the provision of fellowships.[5]

INSTITUTE PROGRAM

In 1967-68 the former NDEA school library institute program ended, and USOE implemented the library institute program under HEA II B for upgrading and expanding the skills of persons employed as librarians. This institute program absorbed the former NDEA school library institutes. Institutions of higher education are the sole applicants for the HEA II B institute program. During the first year institutions were given free rein to decide on professional needs and to propose institutes in specialized areas of librarianship which they had the expertise to meet. Institutes were funded in a wide range of specialities from Asiatic bibliography to library services to the disadvantaged. Most of the institutes were short term, i.e., one to six weeks, but others lasted an entire academic year. In succeeding years, the Office of Education had the necessary lead time to evaluate professional needs, to respond in a more targeted way to national educational priorities, and to develop its own national library priorities.

The institute program, like the fellowship program, cannot require statistics on the ethnic or racial background of participants; however, many institute directors provided the Office of Education with estimates of such data. During the first three years of the program (fiscal years 1968, 1969 and 1970), 25 percent of the some 7,500 participants were non-white and over 18 percent were black.[6] The percentage of black librarians participating in this federal library training program is far higher than the percentage of blacks in the profession.[7]

Beginning in 1971 part of the federal funds under HEA II B that had been allocated to graduate library fellowships since 1966 were diverted to support institutes, which were thought to be a more responsive

training format for the Office of Education's priority training needs. That new thrust included training of paraprofessionals, technicians and library aides. The assessment of library tasks by the American Library Association showed that many library duties can be performed by paraprofessionals instead of professionals.[8] The reorienting of tasks, however, can most effectively be institutionalized if there is a sufficient number of paraprofessionals and if they are adequately trained. Since there is a growing market for these semi-professional skills, and a large manpower pool from which to draw, it seems beneficial on a long-term basis to stimulate development of such programs which will affect a larger portion of the population and which could involve especially the disadvantaged.

RESEARCH PROGRAM

The research portion of Title II B (Library Training and Research) of the Higher Education Act focuses on the improvement of library services and innovation in library education. Some of the research projects supported are directed toward the following goals: improving libraries and information services for economically disadvantaged; analyzing existing library networks to determine how affluent institutions might share with deprived institutions; adapting new technologies, such as microforms, to the creation of new campus library environments or expansion of inadequate collections; making library systems more responsive to user needs; and improving the education and training of librarians and library employees. These goals are consonant with the Office of Education's educational priorities and are service-oriented rather than hardware-oriented goals. From fiscal year 1967 through 1971, over $12.5 million has been obligated for nearly 150 projects, about one-sixth of which have been concerned specifically with library education and training.

Office of Education Priorities

The office began to structure institute proposal response in 1969-70 by specifying key priorities, namely library service to the disadvantaged and educationally deprived, middle management, implementation of multi-media concepts, improvement of advisory services to readers and users, improvement of junior college library service, and improvement of skills of library school faculty, in addition to more traditional courses. This opportunity to explore new directions received the support of the library schools, which have been instrumental in put-

ting these priorities into program realities. The number of institute proposals received far exceeds funding ability of the Office of Education and can be interpreted to suggest that these directions are meaningful to the profession.

In fiscal year 1971 Office of Education priorities stressed equalization of educational opportunity, educational reform, and service to the disadvantaged. The Office of Education's library training program response was to move away from the traditional library training practices and toward broader training concepts and the development of training models. This meant not only professional training stressing service to the disadvantaged but also models for training other supportive personnel, particularly training of ethnic and racial minority persons and disadvantaged persons in general.

Program priorities currently include the following: the Right to Read programs; early childhood education; drug abuse; environmental/ecological education; black area studies; training of junior/community college librarians; training and utilization of paraprofessionals; library education; and multi-media materials and usage. Training models focused again on prime concerns of making librarians better equipped to provide service to minority groups and, in turn, bringing minority group persons into library career ladders from the technician level on up, providing alternatives for library recruitment, training practices and utilization of personnel.

The federal library training program has been sensitive to general educational objectives such as the Right to Read goal of the Office of Education, which is to insure that every child leaving secondary school by the close of the 1970s will be able to read and to enjoy the fulfillment that can come from reading. The response of federal library programs to the Right to Read goal was to emphasize reading skills and attitudes in federally supported library training programs and to suggest to state library agencies that they stimulate workshops, conferences, and public information programs on the Right to Read program. A very crucial problem is the need for more money, not less, for libraries to more adequately support this national Right to Read effort. Any type of follow-up programming needs funds for materials, posters, personnel, and other items. For school libraries, such a reading emphasis means an obvious boost to their relevance to national educational goals and gives impetus to federal support.

Often new thrusts in education and other fields are tied to key administrative people, thereby making the goals dependent on the stabil-

ity of the person's position rather than the idea itself. It is a healthy phenomenon that new commissioners of education, like new departmental secretaries, bring new ideas and thrusts which they can see take shape. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., Commissioner of Education, has shown increased concern for meeting the ten-year Right to Read goal.

Trends for Federal Library Training Programs

The indicators the Office of Education uses in determining training needs are quite diverse and include: comments from library schools, library educators, institute participants and the profession at large; public, school and academic library directors; congressional mandates; administration policy decisions; results of research and evaluation studies of library services and training programs and techniques; and staff appraisals.

Library research studies have presented some interesting perspectives. Some specific manpower statements were made in an Office of Education funded evaluation completed in 1970 on public library service to the disadvantaged. In that study it was found that the competency and effectiveness of staff were basic factors critical to program effectiveness. If the profession desires to serve the disadvantaged effectively, the staff must be motivated to do so. The project director stated, "The dimensions of staff competency must include not only professional qualifications but also leadership skills, administrative ability, and identification and status in the community."[9]

Directors and participants in HEA II B institutes on improving service to the disadvantaged have been most enthusiastic about the success of their educational exposure. Since the start of the institute program, attention has been given to improving service to the disadvantaged—whether black, Chicano, American Indian, or rural poor. Institutes on service to the disadvantaged have been experimental and generally have included speakers from other disciplines who work with or are from the disadvantaged. Such institutes have included those held at the College of St. Catherine in St. Paul, Minnesota; Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana; New Mexico State University; University of Oklahoma; University of Pittsburgh; and Immaculate Heart College in Los Angeles, among others.

All of these foregoing indicators help form the direction of federal library training programs. The institute results seem to indicate librarians can have an impact on providing improved service to the disadvantaged.

The federal trends that seem to surface are the following:

1. *Priorities of need:* the consumer of library services is the ultimate target of any training program. The greatest need continues to be to make the disadvantaged into users. In order to achieve this objective, personnel must be trained to work with and be sensitive to the disadvantaged. This encompasses training on both the professional and paraprofessional levels, both to serve and employ the disadvantaged.
2. *Educational modes:* the institute vehicle as a means of education presently appears to be the most responsive training format to library program needs, since it can focus on a specific identified training need and address a specific target group of librarians.
3. *Educational levels:* with scarce resources (i.e., federal funds) there appears to be a de-emphasis on graduate educational support and an emphasis on upgrading professional skills for certain purposes and on paraprofessional training. The reasons for this shift are numerous: no hard statistics on the need for professional librarians, such as number of budgeted positions going unfilled; current inability of library school graduates to find jobs; and little response in the profession to society's needs, as reflected by current graduate library school curricula.
4. *Equalizing educational opportunity:* there is an emphasis on training opportunities for minority or disadvantaged persons at both the professional and paraprofessional levels.

The parts of the iceberg that are as yet hidden are two proposed federal agencies: the National Institute of Education and the National Foundation on Higher Education, and the new National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. These agencies might well affect the direction of library training as well as all other library programs.

Library training of any type, as library programming, must relate to an intended constituency. It is current thinking that large portions of our constituencies are going unserved because of a lack of knowledge by those who are serving them or a lack of how to apply existing skills to appropriate service for them. The large unserved constituency needs trained people who are skilled in working with people, not just academic credentials. A library is a creative center if those who work in it and use it are open to its monumental possibilities. The trends in federally funded library training programs seem to be in the direction of a "people-to-people" and "people-for-people" orientation. If a primary goal is to prepare people for library service who are capable of and desirous of relating to others and who can do professional and parapro-

fessional tasks, then there is validation for the trends library education training programs are taking in the U. S. Office of Education.

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2. *Ibid.,* p. 30.

3. Bundy, Mary Lee. "Crisis in Library Education," *Library Journal,* 96:797-800, March 1, 1971.

4. U. S. National Advisory Commission on Libraries, *op. cit.*

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6. Data from files in the U. S. Office of Education, Division of Library Programs.

7. According to the 1960 census there were 84,680 librarians. Of these, 72,431 were female and 12,249 were male. The census showed 5.1 percent of women librarians were black but gave no breakdown for men in the profession since they represented less than 1 percent of the total labor force, the census cutoff point for race distribution. It is doubtful that figures for black male librarians would be as high as that for females, so that the overall percentage for black librarians is not likely to exceed the 5.1 figure. Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. *Census of Population: 1960.* Vol. 1, pt. 1. Washington, D.C., U.S.G.P.O., 1964, Table 201, p. 522; and Table 205, p. 546. (Comparable 1970 census figures will not be available until 1972.)

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January, 1972, *The Influence of American Librarianship Abroad.* Editor: Cecil K. Byrd, University Librarian, Indiana University, Bloomington.

April, 1972, *Current Trends in Urban Main Libraries.* Editor: Larry Earl Bone, Assistant Director of Libraries for Public Services, Memphis Public Library and Information Center, Memphis, Tennessee.

July, 1972, *Current Trends in Reference Collections of Recorded Sound.* Editor: Gordon Stevenson, Assistant Professor, Graduate School of Library Science, State University of New York, Albany.

October, 1972, *Standards for Libraries.* Editor: Felix Hirsch, Librarian and Professor of History, Trenton State College, Trenton, New Jersey.